

**Making Exceptions: Politics of Nonconforming Spaces in the  
Planned Modern City of Islamabad**

**by**

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## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

CDA	: Capital Development Authority
DMA	: Directorate of Municipal Administration
DC	: Deputy Commissioner
DG	: Director General
FGEHF	: Federal Government Employees Housing Foundation
IESCO	: Islamabad Electric Supply Company
KAC	: Katchi Abadi Cell
NOC	: No Objection Certificate
PIEDAR	: Pakistan Institute for Environment-Development Action Research
PHA	: Pakistan Housing Authority
SKAA	: Sindh Katchi Abadi Association
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

This dissertation explores spatial nonconformity as a central feature of contemporary city-making. Nonconforming urban phenomena in planned modern cities of the twentieth century have mostly been conceptualized as contradictions to the ideal “plan” (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). An examination of the functioning and everyday life of these planned places, however, reveals that rather than being marginal dysfunctional phenomena, spaces that do not conform to formal architectural and planning protocols play a central role in the way abstract plans are operationalized, and planned cities are experienced. In the planned modernist city of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan designed in 1959 by Greek architect-planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis, a range of actors, including both marginalized and affluent residents and business people along with government functionaries, routinely engage in creating and furthering nonconforming spaces in order to increase access to certain functions, privileges, and necessities that cannot be otherwise delivered through formal planning and architectural practices. My research on Islamabad advances a conceptualization of nonconforming spaces not simply as contradictions to an ideal plan but in terms of rights and entitlements that flow in situations normatively characterized as existing outside the purview of law.

Recent scholarship on urban informality has demonstrated the relevance of nonconformity in urban development processes around the world, and highlighted the profusion of informal practices in governmental planning procedures (Roy, et. al., 2004). My research on Islamabad extends this discussion by showing how the “informalization of the State” is accompanied by a “formalization of the Everyday” as ordinary citizens (both rich and poor) strategically mimic official planning procedures in order to create the effect of legitimacy to justify urban spaces that do not conform to official



planning frameworks (Roy, 2004, p. 159; Hull, 2012). Together these two constructions reject the informal - formal divide in favor of complementary and co-constitutive alliances, and help improve our understanding of contemporary trends in the development and administration of urban areas. My dissertation thus attempts to trace a contemporary history of Islamabad by focusing on the politics of creating nonconforming spatial exceptions as they emerge in spatial practices and political tactics of government functionaries, privileged and underprivileged residents, and business people of the planned city. In this investigation spatial nonconformity emerges as an important feature of contemporary planning paradigms, which are not unique to Islamabad but are relevant to urban conditions found in modern cities everywhere.

Examples of nonconforming spatial practices in Islamabad include: a) illicit residential constructions that range from overcrowded dwellings built along open drains to sprawling mansions set on expensive lakefront properties, (b) unauthorized uses of authorized buildings, and c) encroachments on greenbelts and sidewalks by poor café owners, street hawkers, formal businesses, foreign diplomatic missions, and government organizations, to name a few. By investigating nonconforming urban development in the planned city of Islamabad, my research asks the following questions: What is the relationship between spaces that are planned formally and informally in the case of a comprehensively planned city? What are the similarities and differences found in the spatial practices and political motivations of both state and non-state actors engaged in creating nonconforming spaces? Why are certain nonconforming spaces tolerated for long periods of time while others are strongly resisted by the city's municipal and development authority?

To explore these questions, my dissertation analyzes the histories, modalities and materialities of a range of nonconforming spaces in Islamabad, and highlights the role these spaces play in instituting major structural changes in the official master plan and zoning regulations of the city. In particular, my research focuses on articulating the actions of a range of state and non-state subjects enmeshed in creating spaces of nonconformity; actions that force us to acknowledge the pervasiveness of nonconforming spaces in highly planned contexts, and to reconceptualize how the modern planned city operates. By looking at the role of nonconforming spaces under the kind of supposed

“laboratory” conditions of a planned new city we might in fact learn about how paralegal provisions form an important part of many other kinds of urban settings and experiences as well.

This chapter presents an outline of my dissertation project alongside a critique of existing scholarship on unanticipated urban phenomena in modern cities. In particular, I focus on a review of existing scholarly discourses on informality and the everyday, and the roles of various state and non-state actors in these processes in order to help situate my arguments on spatial nonconformity, and its role in the constitution and management of modern cities.

### **1.1. Conceptualizing (Spatial) Nonconformity**

Different ordering processes and systems meant to impose a formal structure on space or society are threatened by the appearance of unintended elements as soon as these systems take effect. Existing studies on deviations, violations, and exclusions in society help understand how modern society views out of place entities in different ordering processes, and provide important insights relevant to my research on spaces that do not apparently ‘fit’ modern planning ideals. Anthropologist Mary Douglas explores the relation between ideas about pollution and social life in her seminal investigation of social attitudes towards deviance (1966). Douglas defines dirt (deviance) as “matter out of place,” which implies two conditions: i) dirt is not an isolated occurrence: “Where there is dirt there is system. Dirt is a by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involved rejecting inappropriate elements;” ii) Our conception of dirt has a direct link to how we see “all the rejected elements of ordered systems” (such as the unplanned, anomalies, ambiguities, deviances, etc.) (p. 35). This notion of dirt as matter out of place, Douglas contends, can also be applied to the general response of society to “any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications” (p. 36). This conceptualization of non-conforming matter as being inherent to or a product of planning and ordering processes also emerges as an important theme in existing scholarship on planned modern cities.

Anthropologist James Holston's seminal work on Brasilia, the planned modernist capital of Brazil built in the late 1950s, employs a binary framework to explain the relationship between official plans and intentions, and unofficial spaces and practices (1989). Holston extends the analysis of a newly planned modernist city beyond its particular architectural and planning pedigree to include the agency and lived experiences of the intended and excluded citizens of the city, framed in comparison to the intentions of the designers and the government behind this massive city building project. He uses two main theoretical frameworks: (i) a "center-periphery" dichotomy, and (ii) "premises and paradoxes" to explain the creation of spaces external to the original master plan of the planned capital, such as, satellite cities housing Brasilia's underprivileged population, and their relationship with the planned modernist city (p. 289).

The center-periphery dichotomy has been popularly employed in existing scholarship to describe political, economic, and spatial inequalities in society and across nations (Rabinow, 1989; Crinson, 2003; Ferraro, 2008; Holston, 2009). In these studies the privileged economic or political group (the rich/ the colonizer) occupies a place in the center while the unprivileged (the poor/ the colonized) is relegated to a peripheral position. Holston also uses this dichotomy to explain the interplay between planned and unplanned spaces in Brasilia. According to the official master plan, Brasilia was meant to be a utopian class-free city where various government functionaries, irrespective of their rank, were housed in identical apartment blocks called 'superquadra' (Holston, 1989, p. 206). However, this did not make Brasilia a socially equitable place, as it did not extend the same rights to residents in the city who were not employed with the government. In this manner of selection of the future resident population of Brasilia, social and spatial stratification were built into the very "premise" of the modernist city, and constituted the "paradoxes" that it was meant to avoid (Holston, 1989, p. 292). Moreover, with the privatization of residential areas in Plano Piloto when the government decided to sell most of its housing in 1965, "market forces and real estate speculation" forced the lower-income government employees out of their allotted housing (Holston, 1989, p. 291). The privileged citizens were thus allotted spatial privileges in the "center" of the new city while those without the desired status and wealth were relegated to the city's "periphery" in satellite towns.

The center-periphery conceptualization of the planned and the unplanned provides important insights into the differences in physical and metaphoric locations of various socio-economic groups. This framework, however, becomes problematic as soon as the physical and social distance between the two kinds of spaces is removed. For example, in the case of Islamabad where many unplanned settlements exist within the planned grid of the city's master plan, the boundary between the center and periphery is blurred. The point of contact between the planned and the unplanned (and the people living and working in each spatial category) in this context is within an overlapping space, simultaneously constituting both the metaphoric and spatial center and periphery. Moreover, illegal elite residential communities developed in undeveloped suburbs of Islamabad show the spatial preference of higher income groups for undeveloped peripheral areas as opposed to the formally planned central parts of the city, further complicating the categorization of the planned center as the realm of the powerful, and the unplanned periphery as that of the powerless. For these reasons, other frames of analysis are necessary to better explain those urban environments where the center and periphery are not on opposite extremes but instead either overlap or occupy opposite meanings.

Holston's second framework based on "premises and paradoxes" explains the creation of unplanned urban phenomena as contradictory elements embedded in the very master plan and planning program of the planned capital of Brazil. The "premises" behind the creation of Brasilia, explains Holston, refer to the beliefs and values shared, albeit differently, by both the government and the planner-architect team of the new capital city. Holston argues that Brasilia gave its designers and governments an opportunity to test their grand ideas and fulfill their agendas; however, the exclusion of the urban poor from the overall master plan of the city resulted in parallel developments of affordable yet illegal settlements. Against these perceived "premises," Holston analyzes the existing "paradoxes" in Brasilia, which comprise those social processes that are contradictory yet inherently constitutive of the very structure of the "premises" that was meant to deny them. Brasilia is, thus, conceptualized in this study as a city "founded on a paradox" as its basic "premise" was "a negation of the existing conditions in Brazil" (Holston, 1989, p. 5).

Like Holston, architect-sociologist Richard Sennett argues that the “inner contradiction” of the planning process is that “there is no provision for...the unintended, for the contradictory, for the unknown” (1992, p. 99). Mary Douglas moreover elaborates that ordering processes deal with anomalies and ambiguities by ignoring them, by trying to create new patterns of reality in which the anomalies have place, by physically controlling the deviations in order to eliminate them, or by labeling them dangerous (1966, pp. 38-9). While Holston, Sennett, and Douglas effectively explain how ambiguities, and unintended paradoxes that directly challenge the structure of the plan are dealt with in planned places using strategies of eviction, demolition, or segregation, the same cannot be used to explain urban phenomena, which while remaining external to the plan, actually sustain and supplement planned places. For example, while informal settlements set up in vacant spaces next to open drains in Islamabad are not part of the overall master plan of the city, they are important to meet the housing needs of lower income government employees whose labor is essential for the service of the city, and its well-to-do citizens. These settlements (dirt) are not simply “a by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter,” as Douglas might contend, but form an important supplementary element of the system itself. Viewing nonconforming spaces as supplements rather than side effects of planning better explains their positive roles in the constitution of planned and regulated urban spaces. The continuity of the ordering process is not dependent on physically eliminating nonconforming spaces but on its temporary suspension in these spaces so as to allow unsupported functions essential for the everyday functioning of planned places. Because of their complementary role, nonconforming spaces are officially recognized, tolerated, and regulated, and this acceptance of urban nonconformity, in turn, redefines the processes of urban planning and development.

While unplanned and unintended spaces exist because they cannot be accommodated in official master plans, framing spaces that emerge outside of official planning frameworks only in a paradoxical dichotomy with officially planned spaces limits the possibility of appreciating other types of relationships between the two, such as, complementary and co-constitutive alliances. For instance, anthropologist Matthew Hull draws attention to the intertwined relationship between planned spaces and those

that exist outside of the official master plan in the case of illegal mosques erected in Islamabad (2012). Hull argues that planning ironically facilitates squatting tactics used by various interested groups and individuals to take illegal possession of land in areas that have been planned yet undeveloped in Islamabad (p. 241). For instance, religious groups interested in erecting mosques for their respective sects use official maps created by Islamabad's planning authority for undeveloped areas of the city in order to identify the exact location of mosque sites. Once the site is identified with the help of land surveyors, these mosque groups "squat according to plan," that is, "they literally honor the plans in the breach" (Hull, 2012, p. 241). These material tactics informed by official planning are subsequently accompanied by discursive measures involving filing of petitions and employing pressure tactics from high-level people to aid the legalization efforts of the concerned mosque group. To discourage these clandestine squatting tactics, planning officials in Islamabad often disguise sites for mosques as schools and parks on official planning drawings for newly planned yet undeveloped areas of the city (Hull, 2012, p. 243). Hull's analysis of the role of official plans in the constitution of spaces external to them thus breaks away from arguments that posit the two kinds of urban phenomena only in contradiction with each other. In Islamabad, Hull shows that these groups are not working outside of or on the margins of the planned city—they depend on working precisely through its various organizational mechanisms.

Developing this analysis in reverse, my research on informal commercial and residential nonconforming spaces in Islamabad, some of which enjoy the support of the city's development and municipal authority, the Capital Development Authority (CDA), shows that these spaces are officially tolerated primarily because city officials recognize their usefulness to the city and its citizens. Sociologist Amita Baviskar notes similar relations of complementarity between planned and unplanned spaces in the development of Delhi (India) in the later part of the twentieth century, when its first major master plan was prepared in 1962 (Baviskar, 2003, p. 90).<sup>1</sup> The development of the planned parts of the capital city, Baviskar notes, was supplemented by the development of slums and

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of independence and partition of British India into two independent states of Pakistan and India in 1947, Delhi comprised two main areas: 1) Shahjehanabad, which was founded in the sixteenth century under the Mughal rule, and 2) New Delhi built in early twentieth century during the British colonial era. The 1962 master plan of Delhi encompassed both existing areas as well as new areas from surrounding villages.

shantytowns built by laborers and other workers who had been left out of the master plan but were needed for the construction of Delhi (p. 91). Baviskar sees the development of slums not as “a violation of the Plan,” but “an essential accompaniment to it, its Siamese twin” (p. 91).

This notion of the so-called unplanned as “an essential accompaniment” to the master plan challenges the incompatibility of nonconforming spaces as contradictions to formally planned spaces. Rather than associating the development of some parts of a city in unexpected ways with the failure of master planning, my dissertation argues that unexpected spaces routinely supplement the plan by accommodating those functions, necessities and privileges that cannot be provided for by formal planning processes. For this reason, my dissertation consciously avoids using the terms spontaneous, unplanned, paradox, and similar adjectives that attribute qualities of the unexpected or unstructured to spaces external to modern planning protocols (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). The problem with using terms that imply spontaneity and disorder, as this dissertation demonstrates, is that spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad are always consciously and deliberately planned, and often play a complementary role in the development and everyday experience of the planned city.

Perhaps the reason why spaces outside of the official master plan and regulations are termed unplanned or spontaneous is because these are normatively associated with ordinary people, the non-specialists. Urban theorist Ananya Roy, for instance, explains that the “capacity to construct and reconstruct categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy” in urban areas lies with the planning and legal apparatus of the state and that it is the “planning modalities ...[that] produce the ‘unplannable’ (2005, p. 147, 149).” This means that the unplannable is a formation of modern planning procedures in that it labels those spaces that it cannot accommodate as illegitimate. This notion of the plan producing the ‘unplannable,’ however, does not take into account those spaces that exist independently of, or prior to, the plan. For instance, in the case of Islamabad, authorized encroachments on green belts adjacent important government buildings constitute a type of nonconforming space that was created because of the deteriorating law and order in the city, and not because of the master planning of the city. The law and order crisis evident in attacks on buildings used by high target people generates extraordinary response from

law enforcement and security agencies, such as police and intelligence organizations. In Islamabad, police and security officials (and not CDA planners and architects) are thus responsible for developing various security measures and protocols, often in violation of the official master plan of Islamabad.

Roy's conceptualization of legitimate and illegitimate spatial categories created by the planning and legal apparatus of the state also implies that that planned and unplannable spaces are associated with two different socio-technical groups, namely the specialists and the non-specialists or, more specifically, the domination of specialist techniques (such as master-planning) over those of non-specialists.<sup>2</sup> As I argue below, this association of planned and nonconforming spaces with professionals and ordinary citizens, respectively, does not always hold true. However, this line of argument brings attention to the role nonconforming spaces play in the emancipation of ordinary citizens from modern planning procedures designed to condition human behavior and attain social control through a formal organization of space. Richard Sennett agrees that rather than seeing disorder as failure of the plan, the "promise" or "justification" of disorder is that "in extricating the city from preplanned control, men will become more in control of themselves and more aware of each other" (1992, p. 198).

James Holston similarly uses the term "insurgent citizenship" to highlight the struggles for rights to shelter and other basic human needs of underprivileged citizens who are relegated to urban peripheries (2009). Holston identifies this struggle in the realm of the everyday and domestic life in the remote urban peripheries in Brazil (p. 246). In order to explain insurgent citizenship practices of poor residents living in the peripheries of Sao Paulo since the 1960s on undeveloped lots sold by private land speculators, Holston identifies a transformation in the responses of poor residents towards court officials who served legal notices at two moments in time (pp. 250-51). In the 1970s, residents of one of the peripheral poor neighborhoods turned to physical violence to fight the threat of eviction. In 2003, when a resident of another peripheral poor neighborhood received a notice of cancellation of his land title, the concerned resident simply redirected the official to a representative of a neighborhood-based association to discuss the matter. The association representative used arguments grounded in law and

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<sup>2</sup> For a related discussion on 'pretended order' and 'real order' in modern cities, see Jacobs, 1961.



legal history of similar land title cases to successfully convince the official that his claim had no basis (pp. 250-51). By using “law talk” instead of violence, the poor residents of the periphery were thus able to effectively make claims as insurgent citizens by “using rights strategically” (p. 251). Holston argues that the process of moving to the city and building the peripheries helped the urban poor gain an insurgent form of citizenship and political rights by establishing claims to property and rights to infrastructure, by making “law an asset through their struggle with eviction,” and by achieving personal competence “through their experience of the city” (p. 256). The peripheral spaces of Sao Paulo and the everyday practices of survival of the poor living there provided a space to challenge the hegemony of the mechanisms of power, and helped poor residents claim citizenship rights to property and infrastructure within a system designed to exclude them.

In his seminal work, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, French scholar Michel de Certeau similarly analyzes the productive actions of ordinary people, whom society refers to as “users” or “consumers” of products and cultures developed by the dominant group of experts and elites (1984). Rather than treating the users and consumers as “passive and docile” subjects, de Certeau argues that their everyday practices are in fact productive acts of resistance against modes of regulation (p. xii). These “everyday practices, ‘ways of operating’ or doing things” are subversive since they are marked by ambiguity and reappropriation of established rules (pp. xi-xiv). In other words, de Certeau argues that the consumption of “products imposed by a dominant economic order” is a type of secondary production, which “manipulate[s] the mechanisms of discipline and conform[s] to them only in order to evade them” (pp. xii-xiii, xiv). De Certeau elaborates that the “procedures of consumption reveal the act of escaping a system without leaving it” (p. xiii). This means that acts of subversion and resistance of consumers of a system are located within the system; they evade the system while remaining within it.

To make this point, De Certeau differentiates between the god-like top-down view of planners from a secret elevated vantage point, and the bottom-up experience of “the ordinary practitioners of the city” walking through the streets (pp. 91-105). Both experiences of the same space are wildly different. De Certeau argues that the actions of city planning professionals do not constrict the practices of ordinary citizens in their

everyday actions. Since the everyday actions of citizens can neither be predicted nor definitively mapped, the city of the ordinary practitioners is “anthropological” and unmappable (De Certeau, p. 93). De Certeau explains that the “migrational” and “metaphorical” city of ordinary practitioners actually exists within the margins of the planned, readable and concept city of the professionals (p. 93). Using de Certeau’s conceptualization, it can be argued that spatial nonconformity sustains human agency as it helps evade formal planning without leaving it. It is in nonconforming spaces that ordinary practitioners of space exert control in shaping their built environment or gain access to certain rights and privileges.

De Certeau’s work provides useful insights regarding the role of everyday users in the constitution of highly planned and regulated urban spaces by highlighting the agency of ordinary practitioners in making choices that are independent of those that are formally imposed on them by others. De Certeau’s account is not about extreme acts of rebellion but instead of muted, untraceable yet effective acts of manipulation of established rules. Since these everyday acts of manipulation of established rules are unintelligible, they have the power undermine a system without leaving it.

De Certeau’s study is positioned within a repression-resistance framework, which focuses only on those acts of ordinary people that enable them to evade systems of domination designed by professional practitioners. However, not every practice of the everyday is an act of resistance. What about those everyday spatial practices that help gain access to certain privileges within a system, rather than resist domination of an establisher order? For instance, encroachments by business people on officially planned public spaces, such as corridors, green belts, and footpaths, cannot be simply framed as acts of resistance against a planning framework that excludes them. These everyday practices are in fact driven by the desire of ordinary businesspeople to accrue more space for personal use. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5 in the case of the development of an elite illegal neighborhood in suburban Islamabad, the resident-developers of this community acted as the producers and makers of space by directly challenging and successfully undermining official zoning regulations. Their actions didn’t simply resist existing master plan and zoning regulations. Instead, by legalizing this neighborhood through courts, these people initiated a process that resulted in major structural changes

to Islamabad's zoning regulations. In other words, their spatial practices did not create a migrational or metaphorical city but indeed a planned one.

De Certeau's work is primarily concerned with the realm of everyday practices, and the ways of operating that "constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (p. xiv). This conceptualization assumes a distinction between quotidian and formal spatial practices as belonging to the realms of ordinary practitioners and specialized professionals respectively. However, this distinction is blurred in places like Islamabad where government authorities occasionally tolerate and endorse informal spatial practices. The institutionalization of everyday practices in Islamabad is evident in legal permissions and licenses issued for informal housing and commerce, explored in Chapters 3 and 4. This brings into question the notion of everyday life as only representative of how ordinary people act on a routine basis. Instead the regularization of informal spatial practices suggests the inclusion of the State and its specialists in the constitution of the everyday.

## **1.2. Nonconformity as a Planning Paradigm**

Urban nonconformity is not limited to cities in the Global South, since instances of spatial practices external to official planning frameworks can be found in Euro-American cities as well. The tension between official plans and unofficial spatial practices in the western context is not a recent phenomenon either. Unauthorized booksellers, called *les bouquinistes*, for instance, carried out their trade on the banks of river Seine in Paris in the sixteenth century (Lydon, 2012, p. 5). Informal bookselling in Paris was banned in 1649; however, the popularity of the unauthorized booksellers forced the city to permit these book-hawkers in regulated and designated space for a fee along the Seine in 1859. The regulations also imposed restrictions on the temporality of riverside book trading by instructing the informal booksellers to collapse their businesses into a box at the end of the day. The practice of book selling continues even today along Seine in a 3 km of prime land that was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2007 (Ibid).

While individual or collective attempts to reclaim control over regulated urban space have enjoyed longer histories, a recent surge of informal urban practices to improve the livability of cities in North America and Europe indicates that architects and planners now recognize the importance of informality in the context of developed countries. “Tactical urbanism” is an umbrella term introduced in 2010 by an urban planning, design and research-advocacy firm, called The Streets Plan Collaborative, to describe a series of urban experiments taking place in cities like New York and San Francisco in order to improve the livability of these places (Lydon, 2015).<sup>3</sup> “Tactical Urbanism,” advocates “an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies” (Lydon, 2015, p.2). By focusing on short-term practices instead of long-term plans, tactical urbanism aims to create “tactile proposals for change instead of plans or computer-generated renderings that remain abstract” (Lydon, 2015, p.6). A distinctive feature of tactical urbanism relevant to my dissertation is that it encompasses spatial activities of a range of actors from grassroots activists to municipal authorities. City officials or urban developers can use tactical urbanism techniques to test new ideas on a small, low-cost provisional basis before making long-term investments in planned schemes (Lydon, 2015, p. 9-10). Because of the inclusion of government and city officials, tactical urbanism similarly consists of practices that are not always illegal but can include activities along a “spectrum of legality” (Lydon, 2015, p.8). My dissertation makes a similar point as well about nonconforming spaces in Islamabad, which are not always strictly illegal because many of them enjoy official support in the form of temporary licenses, certificates and permissions.

Tactical urbanism proposes an alternate to centralized city planning approaches by advocating temporary, scalable interventions on a neighborhood level, which can be initiated by both government officials and ordinary people. While tactical urbanism offers many important insights into the kind of urban processes that exist outside of formal planning frameworks, and the roles played by both state and non-state actors in the

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<sup>3</sup> In the United States, these DIY urban initiatives, variously known as, pop-up urbanism, guerilla urbanism, insurgent urbanism, etc., temporarily reclaim underused urban infrastructure sites (roads, parking lots, underpasses, etc.) to introduce spatial activities to improve the livability of cities. Examples of temporary DIY urban experiments include the appearance of guerilla gardens, pop-up stores, food trucks, and a range of other unanticipated activities in different cities in the United States and beyond (Lydon, 2015, p. 6).

constitution of such spaces, it's scope is limited to short-term, low-cost approaches to neighborhood building that works for most people. In the case of Islamabad, tactical urbanism cannot be extended to explain those nonconforming spaces that do not necessarily improve the livability of a place but that have been initiated by ordinary citizens and business people to create spaces for immediate personal gains rather for larger public good.

Moreover, tactical urbanism is based on the idea that temporary unsanctioned projects, if successful, can initiate permanent sanctioned changes to cities (Lydon, 2012, p. 7). The Streets Plan explains that “[w]ell-considered projects that begin as unsanctioned often become sanctioned over time” (Lydon, 2015, p.8). However, an analysis of the legalization of an illegal neighborhood in suburban Islamabad, as presented in Chapter 5, shows that the transition from illegal temporary spatial interventions to legal permanent changes in the planning framework is not simply a matter of demonstrating the success of an unsanctioned well-considered project. The illegal suburban elite residential community, which developed outside of the official master plan of Islamabad, was legalized after the residents of this area won a long court battle with the city's municipal and development authority. Personal resources and political connections of influential residents of this neighborhood played a decisive role in this legalization process. My research on Islamabad thus offers a nuanced understanding of spatial practices initiated by ordinary people and city officials, their motivations, and the processes of legitimizing such nonconforming spaces in planned and regulated cities.

As is apparent from the foregoing, the spatial practices and processes investigated in this dissertation are not unique to Islamabad but represent urban conditions and concerns in other places as well. However, Islamabad offers a particularly clear example of how nonconforming developments are sustained and reconciled in a planned city. One of the main elements of the long-term sustenance and reconciliation of nonconforming spaces in modern cities is their entanglement with formal, legal and bureaucratic procedures. Existing studies highlight the complexity of conceptualizing spaces that exist at the junction of formal and informal practices in cities in the Global South.

Anthropologist Ursula Rao uses the term ‘tolerated encroachment’ to explain the process of creating citizenship in government planned resettlement schemes for slum populations in urban India (2013). Using the case of a large resettlement scheme in suburban Delhi, Rao argues that the transition from illegal to legal habitations for urban poor in government rehabilitation projects is not a straightforward process. In resettlement schemes, meeting government requirements and targets involves a series of illicit negotiations and resettlement practices (Rao, 2013, p. 769). For instance, Rao shows how unofficial transactions and illegal lending were essential to a poor family’s journey to upgrade their dwelling in a resettlement scheme in suburban Delhi (p. 766-67). Dubious dealings enabled the poor family to improve their dilapidated leaky dwelling made of impermanent construction materials to a two-storey brick home in the resettlement colony. The family apparently had been allotted two plots in two different government resettlement schemes. To generate money for their new house, the family illegally sold their second plot. They also took out a private loan for the construction of their new house by handing over as security to the lender the allotment paper of the very plot on which they plan to build their home (p. 767). Without any documentary evidence, this family had compensated their legal rights to both the plots, on the one hand, while cash transactions gave the lender a share in this property without any legal rights, on the other. Using similar examples of messy legalities, Rao shows how urban poor in India gain access to resettlement schemes using illicit yet “crafty deals” such as the illegal transaction of property, and money lending (p. 767). “Breaking the law”, Rao contends, “is a function of creating new planned labor-class settlements” (p. 769).

Anthropologist Shubhra Gururani uses the term “flexible planning” to explain special relaxations and provisions made in official planning protocols to accommodate the “desires and demands of the wealthy and political elites” (p. 121). Flexible planning “encompasses a range of political techniques through which exemptions are routinely made, plans redrawn, compromises made, and brute force executed” (p.121). Gururani uses the development of Gurgaon, as a zone of exemption- an illegal city in suburban Delhi from the perspective of the master plan but which developed as a “sanctioned illegality” through exemptions and exceptions written into planning law (122). These exemptions are “sanctified acts” and “powerful passages that are written in every plan”

and that put into question the “neat distinctions between legal and illegal, sanctioned and unsanctioned that have informed urban planning” (p. 122, 126). My research similarly shows that spaces that develop outside of the official master plan or planning regulations of Islamabad are not strictly illegal. However, Gururani argues that spatial exemptions are written in official laws for the benefit of the rich and the influential. As presented in Chapter 3, my research shows that spatial exemptions, in the form of licenses issued to certain encroachments and street hawking, are also written into official municipal bye-laws of Islamabad in order to accommodate low-income commerce and business people in the planned city.

James Holston’s study of Brazilian land law similarly shows that legal dystopias and juridical irresolution are internal to law in some societies, and that in such cases legal systems are exploited jointly by both upper and lower classes (Holston, 1991). Following James Holston and Ursula Rao, rather than conceptualizing nonconforming spaces in planned cities as a result of incompetence, corruption, and overall failure of planning and legal apparatuses, I analyze these as comprising political, social and material spaces where certain functions and privileges incompatible with the formal planning framework can be provided, either with or without official consent.

Most of the themes relevant to my research on nonconformity also emerge in the closely related concept and practice of urban informality. Characterized by irregular and unmonitored economic processes, the informal sector was initially framed in opposition to the formal sector based on fixed-wages, labor rights, and regulated finances as part of the dualistic economic structure found in urban areas of the developing world (ILO, 1972). The urban poor was seen as the main protagonist of informal economies (ILO 1972, Hart 1973, Mazumdar 1976, Moser 1978, Bromley 1978, Simone 2004, Holston 2008).<sup>4</sup> The term “informal sector” later came to include unregulated and illegal housing and land markets in cities of the Global South. Early scholarship on urban informality made important contributions towards highlighting the important role played by informal commerce and housing in providing livelihood and shelter to majority of urban dwellers

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<sup>4</sup> Urban informality, which influenced development theory and practice in the 1970s and 1980s, is closely related to the informal sector, a term introduced in 1971 by English anthropologist Keith Hart in order to explain the irregular self-employment patterns of Northern Ghanaian low-income migrant populations in the urban center of Accra (Hart, 1973).

around the world. The formal-informal dualistic economic model, however, was subsequently criticized because it failed to capture the complex social and economic processes that often straddle the two binaries (Mazumdar, 1976; Moser, 1978).

Ananya Roy identifies two dominant ways of framing informality in existing studies (2005). On the one hand, Roy argues that informality has been framed in terms of crisis and concern (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000), while on the other hand informality is celebrated in terms of heroism of the marginalized communities (Soto, 2000). Roy explains that despite these different framings, both share an underlying assumption that “the informal sector will eventually be integrated into a modern and manageable economy” (p. 148). Roy views the idea of an informal sector as inadequate to fully capture the nature of economic and social processes that govern urban transformations. Rather than treating it as a “sector,” Roy conceptualizes informality as “a mode of urbanization”, “an organizing logic,” and “a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another” (p. 148). This notion of urban informality as a mode of urbanization is developed within the context of global economic liberalization. Roy explains liberalization as “an ideology and practice advocating privatization and austerity... a process that has resulted in significant socioeconomic inequalities” and “has generated an intense commodification of informal land and housing market” (2004, p. 4-5). Since economic liberalization creates pressures on existing land and housing markets, and increases struggles over urban space, urban informality cannot be understood outside of this context.

Roy uses the example of ambiguous legal expropriations of land on the fringes of the city of Calcutta (India) using extra-legal strategies that demonstrate how the State operates within the realm of informality. Roy shows how suburban land holdings were expropriated by the State using informal strategies (such as land grabbing by mobilized sharecroppers, ambiguous and missing records for peripheral land) for various political and economic ends. The expropriated land was initially developed as resettlement colonies for urban squatters in order to gain popular support, and later on sold for private developments after evicting the poor from their neighborhoods (2004, pp. 158-9). Roy terms this process of territorialized flexibility of Calcutta’s fringes an example of an “informalization of the state” (2004, 158-9). “Here, informality is not simply a sphere of



unregulated activities, but a realm of regulation where ownership and user rights are established, maintained, and overturned through elaborate ‘extra-legal systems’” (Roy, 2004, p.159). Roy sees extralegality as “inhering in the state” (2004, p.159).

Finally, Roy challenges the notion of informality as within the ambit of marginalized communities alone, and argues instead that engagement with informal housing and land markets includes the middle classes and even elites (2004). Roy calls the parallel existence of squatter settlements and upscale informal subdivisions in urban centers “different concretizations of legitimacy,” which are found in many cities in the developing world (2005, p.149).

My work on Islamabad builds on this notion of urban informality as a mode of urbanization as well as the ambit of spatial transactions involving a range of actors. However, my research on Islamabad contributes to this discussion in new ways. Firstly, Roy along with other contributors in an edited volume entitled *Urban Informality* position urban informality within the paradigm of worldwide economic liberalization (2004). Architectural historian Nezar AlSayyad argues, “the current era of liberalization and globalization should be seen as giving rise to a new form of informality” (2004, p.25). Similarly, Roy sees an “uncanny resemblance” between informality, which “operates through the constant negotiability of value and the unmapping of space,” and liberalization, which she identifies as “an organizing logic that determines interinstitutional and interurban transactions and practices” (2004, p. 5). The kinds of nonconforming spatial practices investigated in this dissertation are not a consequence of economic liberalization policies and practices. Islamabad as the seat of government in Pakistan presents a context that is influenced more by administrative concerns than commercial interests. Commercial interests that do exist in the case of informal spaces in Islamabad are driven by concerns for profitability of a businessperson or a commercial organization rather than by liberalization practices involving global economies. The housing needs of low-income government sanitation and municipal workers accommodated in expensive public land so that they could live close to their source of employment ensure the longevity of informal settlements in central areas of Islamabad. The informal suburban development of Islamabad’s fringes was initiated by a group of well-to-do and well-connected individuals who decided to abandon the overpriced

developed areas in favor of the economical undeveloped peripheries. The histories of informal urban spaces in Islamabad while driven by concerns for profitability cannot be attributed to global economic liberalization processes.

Secondly, despite the active involvement of the State, urban informality in its current conception assumes a certain kind of illegitimacy and is thus insufficient to explain those spatial practices that have been given official exemptions despite being at odds with official planning protocols. For example, provisions exist in the municipal byelaws of Islamabad for “licensed encroachments” to allow certain illegal commercial enterprises, such as street hawking, elaborated in detail in Chapter 3. These provisions do not constitute the extralegal activities of the State but are very much part of the legal system.

Thirdly, while informality as an organizing logic as proposed by Ananya Roy and others assigns it a more direct role in the configuration of urban space, it is still framed in opposition to formal legal planning frameworks. In the case of Islamabad, urban informality does not offer an explanation of illegal spatial phenomena that simultaneously function within or mimic formal planning and architectural mechanisms. Examples include illegal uses of modern buildings with legal status, and illegal suburban neighborhoods developed with formal architectural and planning characteristics. As this dissertation shows, everyday informal practices can also be quite formal in appearance and effect. In Islamabad, we see that the “informalization of the State” is accompanied by a “formalization of the Everyday” (Roy, 2004, p. 159). The formalization of the everyday refers to those practices of ordinary practitioners that mimic formal bureaucratic procedures in order to create an effect of legitimacy. This formalization is not externally imposed but voluntarily observed. Examples of this kind of formalization investigated in this dissertation include mimicking official modalities of transaction for the illegal exchange of space in a low-income neighborhood, and the creation of dubious documentary evidence to create the illusion of conformity by the residents of illegal mansions in suburban Islamabad (Chapters 4 and 5).

In addition to exploring new connections between planned and nonconforming spaces, my dissertation investigates the role of emotional elements like desires and aspirations, which often get overshadowed by more extreme features of human behavior

like resistance and defiance in the creation and sustenance of spaces at odds with the master plan. For instance, the desire to own property in a good location often gets overlooked in analyses of why slums' and squatter settlements' dwellers choose to live in these localities as informal housing is often viewed as meeting basic housing requirements for marginalized communities whose only motivation is essential survival. In one of the informal low-income neighborhoods in Islamabad, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, where its residents enjoy no imminent threat of eviction, the aspiration to own property in a good location as future investment -- often associated with middle- and high-income groups -- also exists.

### **1.3. Mapping Nonconformity as a Means of Writing History of a Planned Modern City**

My research shows that spaces external to official plans and regulations in planned cities like Islamabad are not marginal urban phenomena but often possess the power to institute major structural adjustments in official planning protocols. Within these spaces exist the possibility to accommodate certain concessions to official plans and regulations that can be revoked or readjusted. This dissertation presents a contemporary history of a planned modern city by focusing on the role of nonconforming spaces as material, legal, and political spaces where concessions to the modernist master plan and planning regulations exist in the form of under-the-table exceptions or official exemptions. The emphasis on spaces external to Islamabad's modern master plan rather than its formal planning characteristics helps clarify how nonconforming spaces influence the formal and everyday constitution of a modern city.

Writing a contemporary history of the particular genre of post-World War II era planned modernist cities offers many new opportunities to investigate new subjects of inquiry, which have emerged over the course of time since the initial inception and early development of these cities. Most of these planned cities have now entered a phase of reconstruction, which has prompted new questions about their future as distinct examples of modernist planning principles of the twentieth century. For example, in 1999, *Celebrating Chandigarh- 50 Years of the Idea* conference was held in Chandigarh to

mark the 50<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of the conception of the new capital. Attended by reputed international and local architects, the conference was organized in panels that, broadly speaking, were dedicated to the past, present, and future of the city and lessons learnt thus far for the architecture profession. During the conference proceedings, the developmental history of Chandigarh was discussed in terms of two particular moments; one in the past (frozen at the master planning phase in late 50s) and the second one in the present (at time of the conference in 1999) of the city (Takhar, 2002). These discussions treated the original master plan of Chandigarh, conceived 50 years earlier by Le- Corbusier and his team as a complete whole, as an artifact that had to be either preserved or reinvented in the present. In the conference proceedings very little was actually said about the city itself as most of the discussions sought to find connections between the two historic moments mentioned above, and were not so much concerned with examining the in-between years and events that actually shaped the present-day state of the city. The declaration of Brasilia as a world heritage site by UNESCO in 1987 is another example of a similar desire to preserve these modernist cities as historic monuments. The legacy of planned modernism will always dominate how these cities are imagined, however, the development of these grand schemes brings to light other spaces peripheral to their modernist master plans that warrant equal attention due to the importance they hold in the everyday functioning and lived experiences of these planned places. My research on Islamabad deliberately steps away from its initial planning phase to include many ordinary yet important moments over the course of its development that collectively helped shape the city in conclusive ways.

In contrast to the more celebrated planned modernist cities like Chandigarh and Brasilia, Islamabad has received limited attention by researchers. Existing scholarship on Islamabad falls under architectural and planning critiques that deal with the early development of the city, the role of the architect in the creation of its master plan and the planning ideology (Nilsson, 1973; Yakas, 2001), or frame the creation of Islamabad within the discourses of nationalism and post-colonial identity (Mahsud, 2007; Harper, 2010). Everyday life and the constitution of informal spaces in Islamabad remains largely unexplored, however, though recent anthropological work on the circulation and control of “graphic artifacts” (files, maps, records, etc.) among different kinds of people in the

city makes an important contribution toward that goal (Hull, 2008; 2012). My research advances this scholarship by focusing on the spatial practices and tactics of city officials and ordinary citizens that create and sustain spatial exceptions in planned and unauthorized neighborhoods in Islamabad.

#### **1.4. Chapter Outline**

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. **Chapter 2: Situating Nonconformity** focuses on the modernist lineage of Islamabad in relation to studies on planned modernist cities of the twentieth century. The chapter identifies the sites where nonconformity to the official planning protocols of Islamabad are investigated in this dissertation. This chapter also presents the peculiarities of the built environment of Islamabad evident in its design as well as its administrative structure, which differentiate it from other cities of Pakistan. By highlighting both the similarities and differences between Islamabad and other planned modernist cities of the post-World War II era, this chapter also attempts to establish Islamabad as an important example of twentieth century modernism.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 form the core of this dissertation and present various aspects of nonconforming spaces in the formal planning and everyday life in Islamabad. **Chapter 3: Making Exceptions** explores the modalities of granting official allowances to spatial practices at odds with official master plan of Islamabad. This chapter shows how certain spatial exceptions are allowed at the institutional level when framed as “temporary,” even if these are long-lived, and this logic of “long-term temporariness” is apparent in the materiality of urban phenomenon at odds with the master plan.

**Chapter 4: Negotiating Nonconformity** investigates the side-by-side presence of officially planned residential areas and a nonconforming low-income neighborhood in close spatial proximity in one of the central and expensive planned areas of Islamabad to explore the relationship between two disparate urban phenomena. This chapter also explores the regularization process of the low-income neighborhood as well as the pseudo-legal modalities of property dealings in this neighborhood. This chapter highlights bureaucratic innovations to structuralize a spatial nonconformity, on the one

hand, and the “formalization of the everyday,” on the other, evident in illicit spatial transactions imitating formal procedures of property transfer.

**Chapter 5: When The Exception Becomes The Rule** maps the process of legalizing certain encroachments that reveal the important role played by judiciary in instituting structural changes in the city’s official master plan, often against the wishes of the city’s planning and development authority. This chapter highlights the tactics of upwardly mobile residents of Islamabad to create desirable residential enclaves in the undeveloped suburbs of the city in contravention to official zoning regulations. This chapter also challenges the notion of the state as a monolithic entity in decisions involving nonconforming spaces as evident in the rift between city officials and the judiciary, which decided in favor of the residents of the illegal elite neighborhood.

The dissertation concludes with **Chapter 6: Conclusion (Islamabad: A Planned City of Exceptions)**, which brings together the peculiarities of nonconforming spaces and their relationships with planned spaces in Islamabad that emerge as a result of this research. This chapter argues that in Islamabad, a city of nonconforming spaces exists ‘temporarily’ to complement the city envisioned in official master plan, and this city of exceptions has the potential to institute permanent structural changes in the official planning protocols. Government functionaries, politicians as well as the rich and poor citizens of Islamabad all create informal spaces, which establishes urban nonconformity as an important planning paradigm. The concluding chapter also conjectures about the future of Islamabad as a dynamically and comprehensively planned city given the recent fragmented development of its peripheries constricting the part of the city planned according to the Doxiadis’ master plan.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Situating Nonconformity**

Islamabad is a distinctly planned modern city in Pakistan and its planning is an important feature of the everyday lived experiences of the city. From the way the city is laid out to the naming of various areas corresponding to their location on the modernist master plan, Islamabad offers a unique spatial experience like no other place in Pakistan. While this dissertation is mainly concerned with tracing a history of Islamabad based on its real-life development, and the changes brought about in the overall master plan over the course of its implementation, the importance of the initial planning of Islamabad cannot be undermined. This chapter traces the modernist lineage of Islamabad and provides a context where spaces of nonconformity normally flourish in the planned city. This discussion is organized into two parts. The first part of the chapter presents an outline of my dissertation project alongside a critique of existing scholarship on modern planning theory, and newly planned modern urban environments of the twentieth century. The goal of this discussion is to give an overview of existing historiography of planned modern cities of the twentieth century and identify ways in which my research on Islamabad builds upon and departs from previous research approaches. The second part of this chapter focuses on formally planned spaces in Islamabad where its modernist master plan and planning ideology are subverted or suspended. The purpose of the second part is to introduce those spaces in the city that serve as sites of investigation of spatial nonconformity in this dissertation and to provide a framework for the discussion in the subsequent chapters on the mechanisms of suspension, subversion, and revision of official planning protocols in Islamabad. Finally, this chapter presents the peculiarities of the built environment of Islamabad evident in its design as well as its administrative structure, which differentiate it from other cities of Pakistan.

## **2.1. PART I: Theorizing Planned Modern Cities**

Analysis of the earliest urban settlements in human history reveals that many organizational features that came to characterize the modern city, such as, the geometric grid, hierarchic spatial organization, separation of functions, and concern for efficient circulation and infrastructure had been in practice long before the development of nineteenth and twentieth century discourses on town-planning. Urban historians of this period, however, have argued that modern city planning differed from its pre-modern variants on the basis of its development in response to three main concerns. Firstly, modern planning developed primarily as a response to the “increase in the tempo of change” that was experienced in urban areas at the onset of capitalist industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Benevolo, 1967, p. 12). Both histories and critiques of modern planning concur that this enhanced pace of change in political and economic spheres became a defining feature of modernity and that the city became a critical site for these transformations (Benevolo, 1967; Choay, 1969; Sutcliffe, 1981; Berman, 1988; Hall, 1988). While older urban settlements evolved over longer periods of time, urban areas during and after the Industrial Revolution underwent extensive fast-paced transformations mostly at the cost of worsening existing living and working conditions of the urban poor.<sup>5</sup> Growing concerns over the inadequacy of existing cities to meet the demands of industrial development, thus, formed the basis for experiments in new urban forms in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Secondly, in addition to responding to the peculiar pressures of time, modern urban planning was also driven by certain ideological innovations related to social and moral uplift. Urban historian Leonardo Benevolo argues that the eighteenth and nineteenth century Industrial Revolution set into motion new attitudes towards viewing social problems that had a major influence on town-planning theory (1967). Rather than treating poverty as an inescapable social reality, nineteenth century social theorists, philosophers, philanthropists, and writers began to visualize innovative urban built environments, which could alleviate and even eradicate social inequalities (Benevolo,

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<sup>5</sup> This trend was experienced in industrialized cities around the world however the western experience is well documented, for instance, see Dickens, 1846; Engels, 1958; Riis, 1890. For descriptions on the urban conditions in Indian industrial and port cities experiencing similar transformations see Hazareesingh, 2001 and Chattopadhyay, 2005.



1967, p. 32). In contrast and parallel to these reform efforts, urban historian Robert Fishman identifies another development at the time in which modern city planning was seen as a tool for social control - a view that was popularized and exercised by administrators, colonial officials, official planners, and other technicians of the state (Fishman, 1977, p. 15). Together social revolutionaries and administrative technicians developed different organizational techniques to either improve social behavior or effectively manage populations. Nevertheless, these alliances between social reform or social control, and spatial organization were critical developments in the nineteenth century, which paved the way for the development of various urban planning schemes during the course of the twentieth century.

Finally, in addition to these temporal and ideological changes, the idea of the city as a unified whole that could be planned entirely in advance to attain certain desirable affects in the future was a unique feature of planned modern cities. Both Fishman and Benevolo note two antithetical approaches in nineteenth century modern planning theory; one that favored piece-meal solutions to urban problems while the other treated questions of town-planning holistically by “conceiving the town as a single organism” (Benevolo, 1967, p. xii). According to urban historian Francois Choay, the realization of “Paris as a whole” in mid-1800s was an important innovation in city planning, which he attributes to the city’s administrator at the time, Baron Haussmann (1969). In his book, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, Fishman similarly observes of his protagonists, “the very completeness of their ideal cities expressed their convictions ... for comprehensive programs... rejecting the possibility of gradual improvement” (1977).<sup>6</sup> The city-as-a-unified-whole approach was based on two premises: firstly, urban and social problems of nineteenth century industrial cities were considered too complex to be left to small-scale interventions and thus demanded new urban forms to meet the challenges of the time; and secondly, the way to arrive at these new forms was seen in achieving optimal inter-relationships between different functions and processes within a city, possible only through the comprehensive planning approach unhindered by the problems of existing cities (Fishman, 1977).

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<sup>6</sup> The three protagonists in Fishman’s work are Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. (Fishman, 1977, p. 4).

To summarize, existing urban histories posit three features that distinguish modern planning from older forms of organization of urban built environments, namely, i) fast-paced urban transformations as a result of the forces of industrialization and capitalism, ii) the conviction that spatial organization can be a means of achieving social control or reform, and iii) the notion of the city as a unified whole that could be planned in advance for desired outcomes. Out of the various ideological and temporal characteristics defining modern city planning mentioned above, this dissertation is mainly concerned with the theorization of the modern city as a unified whole, and the related development of newly planned modern cities as a distinct urban form. In particular, this research is mainly interested in developing a better understanding of the process of operationalizing the master plans of planned modernist schemes developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

Existing literature on planned modern cities of the twentieth century extends beyond the analysis and critique of the design paradigms used to organize them to include an exploration of their relationships with politics and economics at both local and global levels. Planned modernist capital cities of the twentieth century have been explored in existing studies in one of two ways: 1) the first approach focuses on an analysis and critique of formal modern planning and architectural features of planned cities, and privileges the roles played by national leaders, architects, and planners in the early development phase of the city; and 2) the second method investigates planned cities as representations of larger political and social processes framed within national, colonial, post-colonial contexts. Some of these features are explored below.

### **2.1.1. Planned Modern City as a Demonstration of Design Paradigms**

Planned cities built in the twentieth century have been investigated to understand and gauge the success or failure of underlying modernist planning and architectural principles. This approach is based on the underlying assumption that newly planned cities are most suited to study the effects of planning paradigms given the kind of supposed “laboratory” conditions under which they were created. This notion is further supplemented by another assumption that planning a new city offers unique opportunities to its architects and planners to test their grand ideas and political agendas without being

restrained by existing conditions. Broadly speaking, the approaches used to investigate planned modernist cities built in the post-World War II era can be classified as follows:

**(i) *Plan-as-an-artifact*:** Scholarship on planned cities under this category are based only on a formal analysis of planned cities, and focus on the master plan as the primary object of inquiry.<sup>7</sup> The different phases of development of the master plan and the roles played by different key actors are meticulously mapped in these studies in order to understand the underlying planning and architectural ideologies and political aspirations. This approach treats the master plan as a bounded artifact and remains unconcerned with the subsequent development of the city.

**(ii) *Plan versus reality*:** In contrast to studies on planned cities that celebrate particular planning and architectural ideologies, scholars of planned modernism have also tried to complicate the first approach by focusing on the creation and sustenance of illegal or irregular constructions in planned cities as a way of questioning relationships between the abstract plan and material reality. Such studies primarily fall under a critique of modernism, and are best represented by anthropological accounts of the planned modernist city of Brasilia, the capital of Brazil built in late 1950s. This approach seeks to map conformity or discord between the ideal and the real and considers all deviations from the initial master plan as direct instances of the failure of modernism (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). Even though these studies on Brasilia were published in 1970s and 1980s, they contributed to the dominant critiques of modern planning theory launched since the 1960s against modernist planning and architecture (Jacobs, 1961; Jencks, 1977).

My research aims to further our understanding of planned modern urbanism by investigating the relationship between the formal and informal planning processes. To do this, my research challenges the notion of spatial nonconformity in planned modern cities as a result of the inherent flaws and contradictions in modern planning ideology. Moreover, my dissertation aims to go beyond the plan-implementation binary, which

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<sup>7</sup> Examples of formal histories of this type on different planned modern cities include: on Chandigarh- Evenson, 1966; on Washington - Gutheim, 1977; on Dhaka and Chandigarh - Banerji, 2001; on Islamabad, Dhaka, and Chandigarh - Nilsson, 1973; on Canberra - Linge, 1961.

positions planning and implementation as sequential processes. Instead my research on the history of development of Islamabad shows a reciprocal relationship between the two processes as nonconforming spaces resulting from the process of implementation of the official master plan of the city often creates conditions that lead to its revision.

I am also interested in writing a history of Islamabad as a planned modern city without privileging a particular moment in time. Rather, I investigate multiple moments in the capital city's past and recent history that collectively highlight the role of nonconforming spatial practices in the development and experience of the city. Similarly, my research foregrounds the agency of residents and business people of Islamabad across a socio-economic spectrum in the creation of the city rather than privileging the role played by either important political and technical personalities or the economically disadvantaged populations. Finally, my research departs from existing scholarship that frames urban phenomena extrinsic to modern planning principles as evidence of its failure. This approach based on binary oppositions limits the possibility of discovering other kinds of relationships that may exist between formally planned and nonconforming spaces.

### **2.1.2. Planned Cities and Identity Politics**

The role played by planned capital cities in imagining new national identities emerges as another well-explored theme in existing scholarship. Planned modern capital cities in these studies serve as important cases to investigate how political power and national identity were materially translated in both colonial and post-colonial eras. Historian Mark Crinson and anthropologists Paul Rabinow and Mia Fuller argue that early twentieth century modern colonial cities, such as New Delhi in India, *ville nouvelles* in Morocco, and Addis Ababa in Ethiopia demonstrated how the British, French, and Italian empires respectively imagined themselves in their colonies (Fuller, 1988; Rabinow, 1989; Crinson, 2003). These scholars have explored how colonial empires legitimized their domination, reiterated their cultural superiority over, and highlighted their benevolence toward colonized populations through formal modern architectural and planning features in colonial cities.

Similarly, the implied symbolism and role of planned capital cities in identity formation has been explored more fully in studies on post-colonial nationalism and politics (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). These studies reveal political histories and “personal, subnational and supranational interests” of particular nations by focusing on different decision making processes involved in the creation of planned capital cities in new nation states as well as analyzing the roles, ideologies, and hidden agendas of important actors, such as, political leaders, architects, and planners (Vale, 1992, p. 293). This body of scholarship also demonstrates that the decision to create new modern capital cities in post-World War II era in developing countries with limited resources was primarily motivated by the desire of their leadership to create important symbols of progress and development for their nations and the rest of the world, rather than meeting pure functional needs.<sup>8</sup> These studies thus explore the correlation between implicit intentions of important political and technical figures involved in the creation of planned capitals, and their explicit planning and architectural features.

My research acknowledges planned modern capital cities as being politically and symbolically charged spaces within national and global contexts, yet I am mainly concerned with investigating micro-level politics involved in creating a modernist space in Pakistan. This means that instead of conceptualizing Islamabad as a grand gesture of a few privileged figures, my research attempts to understand the city in terms of the everyday practices of a variety of ordinary actors and how they make and sustain both temporary and permanent spatial exceptions in the city. In particular, my research focuses on the spatial tactics and practices of those living and working in Islamabad in order to assert their presence within the city by devising mechanisms that challenge or escape official planning and architectural protocols, as well as the response of state functionaries to either tolerate or subvert such extralegal activities.

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<sup>8</sup> For instance, historian Ravi Kalia argues that Chandigarh was created not only because India had lost a provincial capital city, Lahore, to Pakistan after the 1947 partition of British India, but also because India’s nationalist leaders wanted to create a new and improved city to “surpass” Lahore, which had been a major cultural centre through various dynasties and imperial rules in Indian history (Kalia, 1987, p. 144). See also Epstein, 1973; Holston, 1989; Prakash, 2002.

### **2.1.3. Modern Urban Planning as a Global Enterprise**

As opposed to the histories of early modern town-planning that have a dominant western focus, more recent studies of modern urbanism focus on the global reach of modern planning discourses, and foreground the importance of non-western settings in the actualization of modern planned schemes. This is because many modern planning practices were tested and applied in cities in both colonial and post-colonial settings in the non-western world because of the widespread reach of colonialism, and the internationalism of planning expertise. Mark Crinson argues that modern architecture and urban planning projects executed during the politically deterministic period that saw the end of (British) empire in the twentieth century played a central role in forging new relationships between colonial authorities and ex-colonies (2003). Crinson elaborates that in the new relationship, ex-imperial powers forged new relationships of dependency and cooperation with their ex-colonies by becoming their provider of professional expertise. This redefinition of roles was accompanied by other institutional changes, including the specialization of professional education, domination of western over non-western trained architects and the establishment of western dominated economic and social development organizations like the Commonwealth, World Bank, and the IMF, most of which continue to exert their presence and influence in the ex-colonial world today (Crinson, 2003, pp. 100-126).

The internationalization of planning expertise in the post-colonial world, thus, ensured a dispersal of modern town planning ideas and practices across the globe as many western architects and planners offered their services in urban development schemes in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. German architect Otto Koenigsberger, for instance, planned nine new industrial towns in India from 1944-1951 (Koenigsberger, 1952; Liscombe, 2006). English modernist architects Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew were similarly involved in various design projects in Nigeria, Ghana, and India from the 1940s to 1960s.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the architect and planner of Islamabad Constantinos A. Doxiadis, a

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<sup>9</sup> The development of modern architecture and urbanism as a global enterprise dates to the early twentieth century with the involvement of western colonial architects in the design of buildings and cities in colonial settings. For instance, in early 1930s Swiss-French modernist architect Le Corbusier developed his unrealized proposals for the African city of Algiers to mark its 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary as part of the French Colonial rule. Previously from 1912-1925, French architect and planner Henri Prost had developed proposals for several cities in Morocco as part of the French colony.

Greek consultant with an international practice, carried out several architectural projects in other cities in Pakistan before being commissioned to design its new capital, as elaborated in the second part of this chapter.<sup>10</sup>

Scholars working on planned cities in diverse non-western settings have helped debunk the myth of the one-way import of modern ideas from the west to the east and the notion of a singular definition of modernity (Chattopadhyay, 2005; Hosagrahar, 2005; Glover, 2007; Chopra, 2011). The works of post-colonial historians is particularly noteworthy in rethinking the two-way relationship between the western “center” and non-western “peripheral terrains” (Wright, 1987). Postcolonial historians working on planned cities in formerly colonized settings have recognized so-called under-developed contexts as sites of modern knowledge and innovation. Scholars have also reclaimed the important roles played by ordinary people, local architects, financiers, and administrators in the non-western, colonial and post-colonial contexts in the development of modern planning theory. A recurrent theme in this scholarship is that of cities in the colonial world serving as “laboratories” where ideas and planning practices were tested and improved upon for eventual application in the mother country (Wright, 1987; Fuller, 1988; Rabinow, 1989). However, scholars focusing on the practices of western trained architects in both colonial and ex-colonial contexts have argued that local settings heavily influenced and altered the thinking of western specialists and helped produce new approaches towards modern planning and architecture (Tyrwhitt, 1947; Banerji, 2001; Chattopadhyay, 2005; Hosagrahar, 2005; Liscombe, 2006; Glover, 2007; Chopra, 2011).<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, existing post-colonial scholarship challenges the notion that planning modern cities in colonial contexts was a forced external colonial imposition, which disrupted the ‘traditional’ lives of native populations as historians have shown that modern planned settlements were accepted and appropriated by the middle- and upper-

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<sup>10</sup> Doxiadis was first introduced in Pakistan on the recommendation of the Ford Foundation. Ford Foundation was established in 1936 by the heir of the American based Ford Motor Company as a public welfare organization, which played an active role in funding various housing and development projects in the country using foreign experts.

<sup>11</sup> Architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright points out that while the experimentation of new planning ideas in *villes nouvelles* in colonial Morocco under the French protectorate failed to motivate any serious application of planning ideas at home, the notion of planned colonial cities as urban laboratories, nevertheless, gives important insights into dominant colonial policies (1987, p. 297). Mark Crinson similarly provokes the laboratory metaphor to describe important experiments in planning and architecture carried out in the post-colonial states of India and Africa in the twentieth century (2003).

class native residents (Hosagrahar, 2005; Glover, 2007). Using the example of Model Town, a planned suburb near colonial Lahore in Pakistan built by a group of middle-class residents of the city, historian William Glover elaborates the modern aspirations of the Indian middle-class residents, evident from the design of the new suburb based on Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model.<sup>12</sup> Even today, the desire to live and work in a planned modern environment is not limited to upper and middle class sensibilities as my research in Islamabad shows an awareness among low-income populations living in squatter settlements or working in informal economy of the desire to eventually transition to living and working arrangements in the planned areas of Islamabad.

The popularity enjoyed by planned urban environments among authoritative and nationalist regimes in both colonial and post-colonial settings played an important role in the development of modern planning theory in diverse settings. This can be partly attributed to the association of modern planning mechanisms with good administrative control. This emerges as another theme explored in existing literature on planned urban environments, discussed next.

#### **2.1.4. Planned City as an Instrument of Power**

Scholars of modern cities have also explored architecture's role in the exercise and preservation of power (Foucault, 1975). For instance, scholars have argued that cities planned under British, French and Italian colonial regimes were organized according to two main principles, namely: 1) the desire for increased legibility of native populations and their environments for efficient colonial control, and 2) segregation of native and colonial populations in physically separated quarters to avoid unnecessary mixing of both races, and to provide protection from native populations in times of political insurrection (King, 1976; Wright, 1987; Fuller, 1988; Rabinow, 1989; Hosagrahar, 2005). While many scholars have successfully argued the impossibility of ensuring strict separation

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<sup>12</sup> For more on this theme of joint collaborations between the colonials and natives in creating urban built environments see Chopra, 2011. Historian Jyoti Hosagrahar argues that the Civil lines - the airy, well laid-out enclave for British civilians built outside Delhi- was a popular housing choice for educated native elites who wanted to distance themselves from lower-class Indians. Industrial town of Jamshedpur in India is another example of a city financed and developed by a progressive Indian industrialist based on a development plan prepared by architect Otto Koenigsberger in 1944-45 (Koenigsberger, 1952, p. 112).



between native and white populations and the absolute domination of colonial authorities over colonized populations using physical organization of space, however, the dual-city planning model is still important to appreciate the development of specific physical planning mechanisms for achieving hegemonic control in colonial settings.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to colonial empires, post-colonial nation-states and authoritarian regimes of the twentieth century similarly employed modern planning techniques to fulfill their desire for creating docile and industrious subjects. For national governments of newly independent post-colonial states, planning new modern cities was viewed an attractive means of modeling human behavior and accelerating economic development of these new nation states (Epstein, 1973, pp.1-2). For example, while analyzing new industrial, and refugee towns planned in India after its independence in 1947, Otto Koenigsberger used the metaphor of “training camps” in order to explain the pedagogic nature of these “development towns,” which were designed to instill virtues of “productivity and cooperation” among their residents (Koenigsberger, 1952, p. 100). New refugee towns Koenigsberger designed to rehabilitate populations displaced as a result of partition in 1947 were planned as healthy environments for economically self-sufficient communities.<sup>14</sup>

My research on Islamabad aims to further this scholarship by focusing on the material processes involved in the actual implementation of planned schemes. My research on Islamabad furthers scholarship on the relationship between power and modern planning by conversely investigating how certain spaces within planned cities provide a material and political space for populations to exert influence over their built environments. My research on the sustained development of high and low-income residential neighborhoods and commercial enterprises, external to Islamabad’s official master plan, shows that the power to shape planned cities not only resides with State functionaries and planning professionals but is routinely challenged and sometimes exercised by those populations who live and work in these places. For instance, Chapter 3

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<sup>13</sup> For critiques of the dual-city concept in colonial cities see Chattopadhyay, 2005; Hosagrahar, 2005; Glover, 2007; Chopra, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> In addition to colonial authorities and national governments, other groups of influence similarly used modern spatial planning mechanisms for achieving desirable outcomes. Rabinow similarly notes the in his analysis of the colonial city of Nantes that the control of the planned city lay with individual capitalists instead of the French colonial state (Paul Rabinow, 1982).

shows the resourcefulness and political power of the poor residents of France Colony, an informal settlement amidst an expensive neighborhood in Islamabad, despite serious efforts to evict them on part of their rich neighbors. Additionally, in Chapter 5, I investigate the eight-year old stand-off between residents of an illegal elite neighborhood in the outskirts of Islamabad as an example of how private development of a suburban neighborhood can be a means of challenging authority and instituting major structural changes in official planning principles. My research on these two neighborhoods in Islamabad demonstrates that power in these instances does not solely reside with the conventionally dominant group but moves back and forth between different socio-economic and political groups (Chatterjee, 2006).

From the above discussion, it is apparent that existing studies on planned modern cities have investigated a number of important political and economic issues including identity politics, colonialism, nationalism, resistance, culture, and so on. While all these studies make important contributions to our understanding of the co-constitutive relationship between modern planned cities, and regional and global political and economic processes, these do not sufficiently explain the important roles that nonconforming spaces play in the constitution of planned modern places. My research focuses on spaces that do not conform to modern planning frameworks yet exist within the formally planned grid of Islamabad. The co-existence of formally and informally planned spaces in Islamabad makes it an important case to study the relationship between the two kinds of urban conditions. The second part of this chapter presents an overview of planned spaces in Islamabad within which spaces outside of the official master plan routinely flourish, and that serve as sites of investigation of spatial nonconformity in this dissertation. We begin this discussion with an overview of important events in the history of Islamabad as a way to contextualize the new planned capital city within the political and historical milieu of Pakistan.

## **2.2. PART II: Sites of Nonconformity in Islamabad**

### **2.2.1. Islamabad's Prehistory**

The development of Islamabad as a newly planned capital of Pakistan stemmed out of the need and desire to have a purpose built administrative center for a newly created nation-state. The partition of British India in 1947 resulted in the creation of the independent states of India and Pakistan. Pakistan at the time comprised two geographically separate wings called East and West Pakistan.<sup>15</sup> At the time of partition of British India, Karachi in Sindh province in West Pakistan was declared Pakistan's national capital. Initially developed as a port city in the early eighteenth century, Karachi was chosen due to its standing as a vibrant metropolis with an active commercial and political life (Hasan, 1992, p.1). However, these distinctions proved to be inadequate to maintain Karachi as a national capital city in the face of various political and historical forces of late 1950s in Pakistan.

One of the after effects of the 1947 partition was that large populations of people wishing to settle in Pakistan migrated from India and vice versa. In Pakistan, Karachi received a massive influx of refugees, which more than doubled its existing population.<sup>16</sup> Because of the extraordinary nature of events after the 1947 partition, displaced populations were allowed temporary refuge in existing public buildings, parks and other open land in the city. Karachi's infrastructure was overburdened due to this sudden increase in population. In an effort to formulate a permanent solution to the city's dire problems, the Karachi Improvement Trust (KIT) was established in 1950, which was later replaced by the Karachi Development Authority (KDA) in 1957 (Hasan, 1992, p. 3). These institutions were given the mandate to develop a new administrative area and rehabilitate 1947 partition refugees in Karachi. Various attempts were made in 1950s in this regard but without any meaningful outcome.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> 1971 saw the dissolution of Pakistan's two wings and the creation of the independent state of Bangladesh in East Pakistan.

<sup>16</sup> The population of Karachi in 1947 was a little over 400,000. From 1947 to 1951, more than 600,000 refugees migrated to Karachi. An additional 5% of the total population influx comprised civil servant and migrants from within Pakistan. (Hasan, 1992, p. 3).

<sup>17</sup> Other unrealized planned schemes intended to meet both the administrative needs for the country and housing demands of the refugee population in Karachi after the 1947 partition include: a proposal for a new administrative satellite city outside of Karachi by an Australian town planning

In 1952, for instance, KIT engaged the services of a Swedish consultancy firm, Merz Rendel Vatten (MRV) to prepare a master plan for Karachi known as the Greater Karachi Plan or simply the MRV plan (figure 1) (Hasan, 1992, p.3). The Swedish consultants criticized “the desire to isolate the Capital in a new and separate town, or section of the town,” and proposed “linking the core of the old town and the Capital together as intimately as possible” using an efficient communication system (Lindstrom, 1952, p.36). The MRV plan imagined the new capital with a large gathering place, new administrative, commercial, educational and residential areas in a pre-selected site in the North-East of Karachi.

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consultant to the Government of Sindh Lt. Col. G. Swayne Thomas in 1948 (Hull, 2012, p. 37); In 1953, French architect-planner Michel Ecochard was invited to develop a scheme to settle refugee population in a satellite city (Muzaffar, 2012, p. 153-162). For a detailed analysis of a realized refugee settlement scheme near Karachi see Daechsel, 2011.



Figure 1. The MRV Plan. Lindstrom, S., and B. Ostnas. [1952] 1967. Report on the Greater Karachi Plan. Karachi. Merz Rendel Vatten for Government of Pakistan. Page not given.

The MRV scheme was never implemented due to concerns about its design features including its expensive traffic plan, location of the poor within city center, and inaccurate projection of future growth pattern of the city (Hasan, 1992, p. 4; Hull, 2012, p. 37). The deteriorating political situation in Pakistan in the 1950s, along with the assassination of the sitting Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951, and the military coup of General Ayub Khan in 1958, made it difficult to reach a decision on the implementation of the MRV plan, which was eventually shelved (Hasan, 1992, p. 4).

In 1958, the future Greek planner and architect of Islamabad, Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis (1913-1975), was asked to prepare another scheme for Karachi, known as the Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan (Hasan, 1992, p. 6). In this scheme, housing needs of the residents of the city were addressed by proposing two new satellite townships about 15 to 20 miles outside of Karachi. In order to provide employment opportunities to the residents of these townships, large industrial areas were also planned alongside the new developments and industrialists were given incentives to encourage investment in these areas. Many factors contributed to the eventual abandonment of this project including the failure to meet project goals, property speculation, issues with financial recovery, failure to generate local employment, and non-utilization of public facilities in the new townships (Hasan, 1992, pp. 6-7).<sup>18</sup>

The Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan, thus, coincidentally marked the entry of the future architect of Islamabad in the local planning and architectural design scene. As an architect-engineer, planner, activist, business entrepreneur, educator, and theorist, Doxiadis was a self-proclaimed generalist, who sought solutions to the urban crisis in the twentieth century through an interdisciplinary scientific analysis of human settlements. He graduated as an architect-engineer from the Athens Technical University in 1935 followed by a doctorate from Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule (Charlottenburg Technical College now Technical University of Berlin) in Berlin in 1936 (Constantinos, 2003). In 1937 only a year after completing his formal education in architecture and engineering, Doxiadis was appointed the Chief Town Planning Officer for the greater Athens area at the young age of 23 (Ibid). During the Second World War, Doxiadis was appointed the Head of the Department of Regional and Town Planning in addition to

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<sup>18</sup> For detailed analysis of one of the satellite cities see Daechsel, 2011; Muzaffar, 2012.

serving as a corporal in the Greek army. During the war he also participated in underground resistance activities and served as the Chief of the National Resistance Group, *Hephaestus*, which published the only underground technical magazine in the occupied territories, entitled, “Regional Planning, Town Planning, and Ekistics” (Ibid). This magazine marked the first of the many publications including books, articles, papers, and journals by Doxiadis over the course of his life.

In 1950s, Doxiadis developed a new academic discipline of human settlements called Ekistics. Ekistics advocates a systematic study of a range of human settlements in the past as well as the present using an interdisciplinary and holistic approach in order to seek solutions to contemporary urban problems (Doxiadis, 1970, p. 393). While Doxiadis developed Ekistics over the course of his career, Islamabad is considered to be the only city in the world where Ekistics ideals were fully applied. But what are the Ekistics ideals? Derived from the Greek word *oikos*, (trans. house or dwelling), Ekistics proclaims that human settlements comprise five essential elements, namely, nature, man, society, shells (buildings), and networks (Ibid). Ekistics is aimed at creating harmony between man and his physical, social, and cultural environments, and calls for coordination between different disciplines such as “economics, social sciences, political and administrative sciences, technology and aesthetics into a coherent whole” (Doxiadis, 1963, p. 96). It also demands the architect to expand his or her knowledge to include a number of fields and don the role of the master coordinator and generalist rather than a specialist.

The precedents of Doxiadis’ five essential elements (nature, man, society, shells, and networks) in all human settlements can be traced back to the earlier works of modern architects and urban planners, who similarly conceptualized human built environments in terms of distinct social and physical units. In 1933 Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier, for instance, introduced the idea of “the Functional City” (an extension of his earlier concept of “the Radiant City”), which conceptualized urbanism in terms of four functions: dwelling, work, leisure and circulation (Mumford 2000: 73). Le Corbusier called for a separation of these functions in the organization of an efficient modernist city. Earlier in the beginning of twentieth century, Scottish urbanist Patrick Geddes promoted the idea of multidisciplinary in the study of society and prided himself as a

generalist drawing knowledge from various disciplines (Munshi, 2000, p. 486). Geddes proposed a study of society in terms of a three elements, namely, place, work, and folk. We can see Doxiadis built on these earlier works by bringing together biological and technological elements in his schema. However, Doxiadis main departure from these earlier works was his insistence on time and not space as being “the real dimension of cities” (Wigley, 2001, p.88). He conceived cities as dynamically growing organisms along a predetermined linear path, as discussed below. This contrasts with the earlier proposals of modernists like Le Corbusier who conceived cities in terms of a fixed number of people with a definite boundary.

Following the liberation of Greece in 1945, Doxiadis travelled to England, France and the United States to represent the country in various conferences and discussions on post-war reconstruction strategies. From 1945-51, Doxiadis was actively involved in the reconstruction and restoration of Greece after the war and worked in various important official capacities in the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction, and the Ministry of Coordination. In 1947 Doxiadis was introduced to the international forum of the United Nations, when he represented Greece at the UN International Conference on Housing, Planning and Reconstruction (Ibid). This turned out to be a critical point in his career, which landed him commissions both as a UN and a private consultant in many countries in Asia and Africa where the UN was actively involved in housing and development activities.

After representing Greece in his official capacity, Doxiadis founded his private consultancy in 1951 which grew within twelve years to a global enterprise providing architectural, planning and engineering services with offices in 5 continents and approximately 40 projects in different parts of the world (Ibid). In addition to providing practical consultancy services, Doxiadis was simultaneously interested in the production and dissemination of knowledge related to burgeoning urban issues of the twentieth century. He founded the Athens Technological Organization in 1959, which served as a technical training institute to train young professionals in Ekistics and the Athens Center for Ekistics in 1963. Doxiadis also organized the Delos Symposium in the 1960s and 1970s aboard a yacht sailing the Mediterranean attracting notable planning and architecture experts who were invited to deliberate over issues concerning Ekistics (Ibid).



Doxiadis' involvement in housing and urban development projects in Pakistan was made possible because of his association with Ford Foundation, which was established in 1936 by the heir of the American based Ford Motor Company as a public welfare organization with global philanthropic projects aimed at advancing human welfare (Zahir-ud Deen, 1998, p. 70).<sup>19</sup> In the early post-independence era of Pakistan, the US government, under its US Agency for International Development (USAID) program and with the help of Ford Foundation, pledged financial support for the construction of 14000 houses for people rendered shelterless after the partition of British India. Doxiadis was commissioned to plan a refugee resettlement township in suburban Karachi with funding support by USAID, which also made the recommendation of hiring Doxiadis for this job (Zahir-ud Deen, 1998, p. 70). Prior to this commission, Doxiadis first arrived in Pakistan as the Housing and Settlements member of the Harvard Advisory Group entrusted with drafting Pakistan's First Five Year Plan, which also received funding support from the Ford Foundation (Daechsel, 2013, p. 90).

After a series of failed attempts to accommodate new administrative facilities in Karachi, a decision to plan a new purpose built capital city in a new location was eventually made by Pakistan's first military dictator, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, who first served as the head of state during the military martial law rule of 1958-62, and was later elected as the President of the country until he was ousted in 1969. Shortly after resuming power, Khan gave his approval to build a new capital city near Rawalpindi, the military headquarters of Pakistan Army. Even though Pakistan Navy was headquartered in Karachi, Khan did not enjoy the same support that he would receive (as an ex-army chief) from being physically close to the headquarters of Pakistan Army in Rawalpindi. The fact of military dictatorship, thus, established the conditions for building a new capital city in Pakistan's Western wing instead of its more populous and economically stronger Eastern wing (present-day Bangladesh).<sup>20</sup> Such conditions permitted a military dictator to make an executive decision to initiate an expensive and ambitious city building project in a country with limited resources without facing much

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<sup>19</sup> For an overview of Ford Foundation projects in Pakistan see Gant, 1959; Ensminger, 1966.

<sup>20</sup> To pacify the Eastern wing, Dhaka was declared the second capital of Pakistan in 1959, and received approval to develop a new capitol complex, which was designed by another famed modern architect, Louis Kahn, after the succession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh (Nilsson, 1973; Banerji, 2001).

political resistance. The conditions under which the decision to build a new capital city of Pakistan were made, in a way connects it to the kind of conditions that enable nonconforming spatial phenomena to continue in Islamabad. My research shows that such spatial practices are possible because of the exceptional yet decisive decisions made at various levels of bureaucracy and judiciary. As the next three chapters on various scales of nonconforming spatial practices will demonstrate, the power to make certain extraordinary allowances within the official master plan and planning regulations of Islamabad marks one of the conditions necessary to accommodate spatial practices unsupported by official planning protocols.

### **2.2.2. Planning the New in Conjunction with the Old**

Islamabad was planned as the new capital of Pakistan from 1959 to 1963 while the implementation of the master plan commenced in 1961 (Doxiadis, 1965, p.1). The final site selected for the new capital city was about 20 km north of Rawalpindi, which functioned as the interim capital of the country during the initial construction years of Islamabad. A distinct feature of the initial master plan of Islamabad was the inclusion of Rawalpindi in the overall scheme for the new capital city (figure 2).<sup>21</sup> Doxiadis proposed the development of new areas of Rawalpindi using the same planning module and organization principle that he developed for Islamabad. However, unlike the MRV plan for Karachi, Doxiadis wanted to avoid the danger of Islamabad becoming an annex to Rawalpindi by the “physical intermingling of the two cities” (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 88, 1960a, p. 46). Distance had to be maintained in a way that the residents of Islamabad could make use of the “services” offered by the existing city while avoiding the “disadvantages” of the invasion of the new capital by the urban patterns existing in the old city (Ibid). Rawalpindi served as a good support system to the new capital city by fulfilling its basic needs of infrastructure, roads, airfields, and labor. This arrangement helped cut the initial costs of establishing these facilities anew in Islamabad. However, since Rawalpindi had developed over a course of centuries, its existing urban fabric

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<sup>21</sup> The dissimilarities between the urban forms of the new modernist city of Islamabad and the historically evolved city of Rawalpindi were imagined to reduce over time. Doxiadis proposed the development of new areas in Rawalpindi along the same pattern of ‘sectors’ used to organize Islamabad.

presented many challenges to accommodate modern technologies, and lacked the organizational clarity that modernist architects sought and associated with an efficiently planned city. A type of *cordon sanitaire* comprising a generous green belt, a highway, and light industries was thus planned between Rawalpindi and Islamabad.<sup>22</sup> Despite the physical proximity and close association between Rawalpindi and Islamabad, Doxiadis maintained difference between the old and the new by introduced entirely new patterns of urban development in Islamabad including the configuration of its neighborhoods, its grid plan, and the designation and separation of different functions in clearly defined zones.

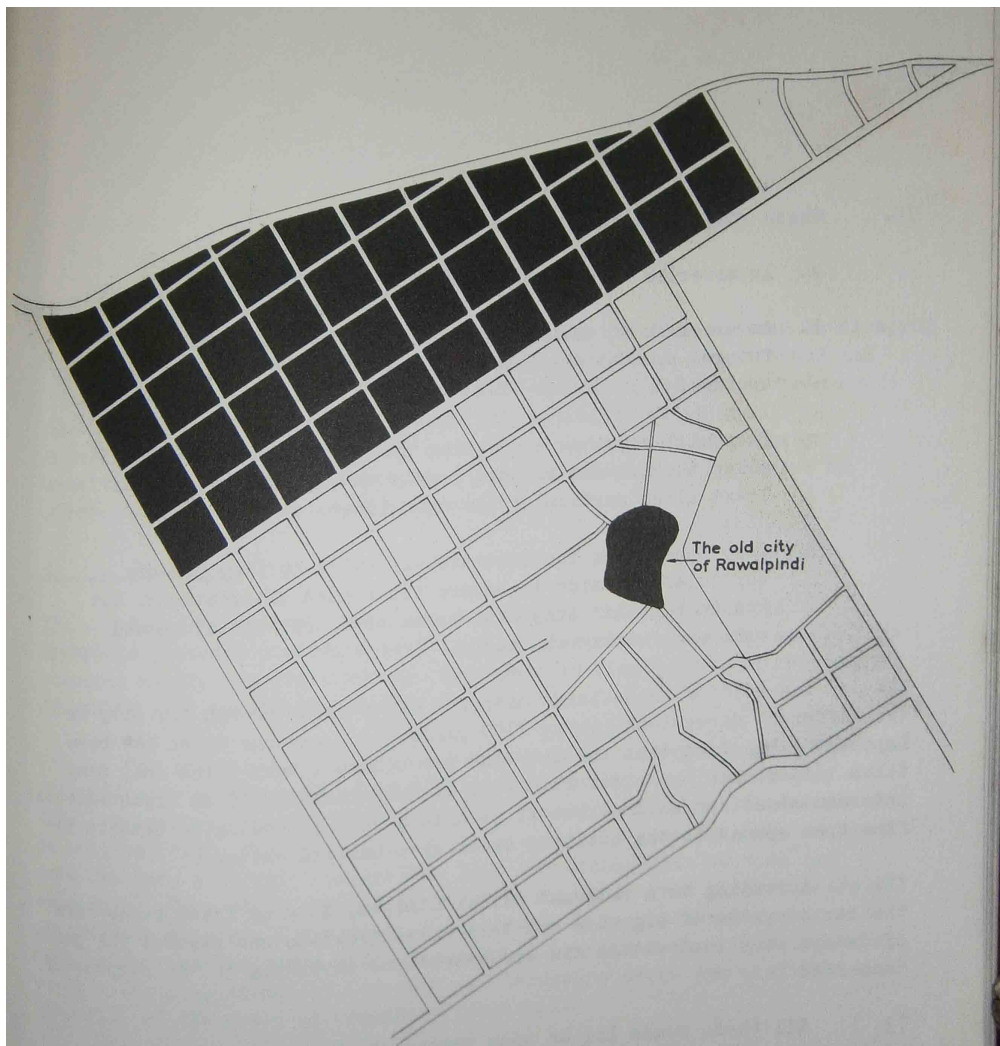


Figure 2. "Old Rawalpindi in Relation to Grid Pattern." Doxiadis Report, DOX- PA 168, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> The development of Islamabad and Rawalpindi as twin-cities also marks a point of departure from the modernist cities of Brasilia and Chandigarh, which were developed as complete wholes in themselves, in isolation from other existing cities.

### **2.2.3. Islamabad's Modernist Lineage**

Doxiadis claimed to develop Islamabad using planning principles he formulated under the discipline of Ekistics. However, the new capital of Pakistan shares many features with other newly planned capital cities, including Brasilia (Brazil) and Chandigarh (India) built in the post- World War II era. Like its contemporaries, Islamabad was planned according to the dominant discourses of twentieth century architecture and urbanism, in particular, those advocated by Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM) – a consortium of influential modern western architects from early- to mid- 1900s. Modern urban environments planned during this period were influenced by “the Functional City” concept formulated by one of CIAM’s most notable protagonists, Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier. According to “the Functional City” concept, urbanism was conceptualized in terms of four functions, namely, dwelling, work, leisure and circulation, and a strict separation between these was considered an essential element for the efficient functioning of a modern city (Mumford, 2000, p. 73).

The official master plan for Islamabad conceived by Doxiadis, is similarly characterized by the compartmentalization of various functions of the city in clearly defined zones connected by an efficient circulation network. As this dissertation shows, this strict separation of various functions could not be maintained beyond the initial master planning phase of the city as its implementation yielded many new spaces peripheral to the official plan and planning ideology. In order to provide a context for the discussion in subsequent chapters on the tension between spaces that are planned according to the master plan and those that developed outside it, the following discussion will examine the main planning elements of Islamabad which also constitute the sites of investigation of spatial nonconformity in this dissertation.

According to Doxiadis’ master plan for Islamabad, the metropolitan area for the new capital is subdivided into three regions, namely, (i) Islamabad proper, (ii) Rawalpindi Town and Cantonments, and (iii) the National Park (figure 3) (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 127, 1961, p. 18). Man-made elements and existing natural features delineate the divisions within and boundaries of the metropolitan area (figure 3). A system of four highways is used to generate the three subdivisions in the metropolitan area, which is bounded on its North-North West by the Margalla hills, and on its South-

East by the Soan River (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 159, 1962b, p. 2; Doxiadis, 1965).

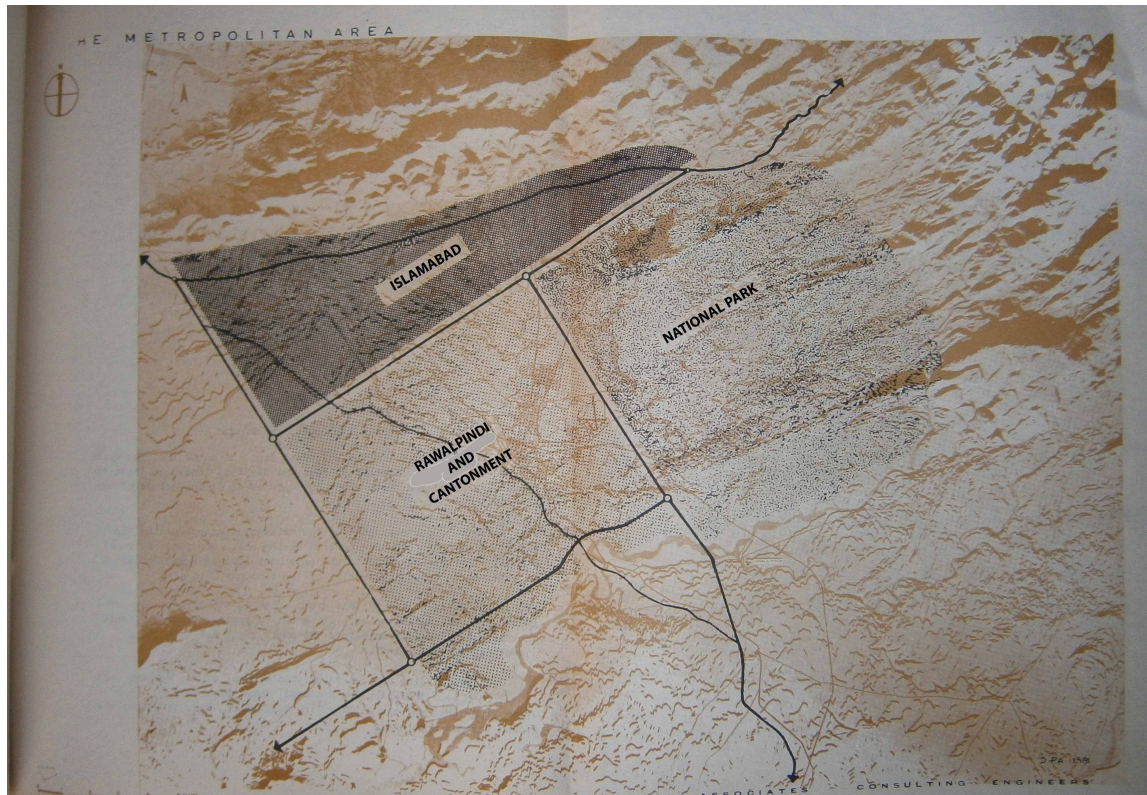


Figure 3. Metropolitan area of Islamabad. Doxiadis Report 37: Summary Of Final Programme And Plan. DOX-PA 93. 30.9.60.

One of Doxiadis' main planning innovations was that he planned Islamabad as a robust city of the future, or as a *Dynapolis* (dynamic *polis*/city), which in contrast to the static *polis* (city) of the past offered the potential of dynamic development. As opposed to the cities of the past, Doxiadis envisioned the city of the future to be able to develop freely and naturally along a planned and predetermined course (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 88, 1960a, p. 108). One of the ways of achieving this was by allowing the center of the *dynapolis* to grow simultaneously with the city, thus, diminishing the danger of the center from being constricted by the overall growth of the city, as experienced in the static cities of the past.

Doxiadis' scheme included both the cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, which were imagined to grow dynamically in the South-West direction (figure 4). The center in



the *dynapolis* was planned not as a single entity but as a system of centers made up of the commercial and institutional cores present in the basic planning modules of Islamabad called 'sectors,' explained shortly below. Doxiadis' proposal for the capital region was only implemented to the extent of the new capital city as Rawalpindi was left out from the overall scheme of development. While Islamabad continues to expand in the South-West direction, this is not the only direction in which the city is experiencing growth (figure 5). Islamabad is also expanding in an area South of Rawalpindi, which was included in the capital territory at a later stage. The newly urbanized areas of the capital city are now being developed using organizing principles other than those prescribed by Doxiadis. However, as a basic unit of organization developed by Doxiadis, the sector is an important planning feature of Islamabad, which distinguishes it from other cities of Pakistan. The following section presents a formal analysis of the sector, which constitutes one of the main sites of investigation where spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad commonly exist.

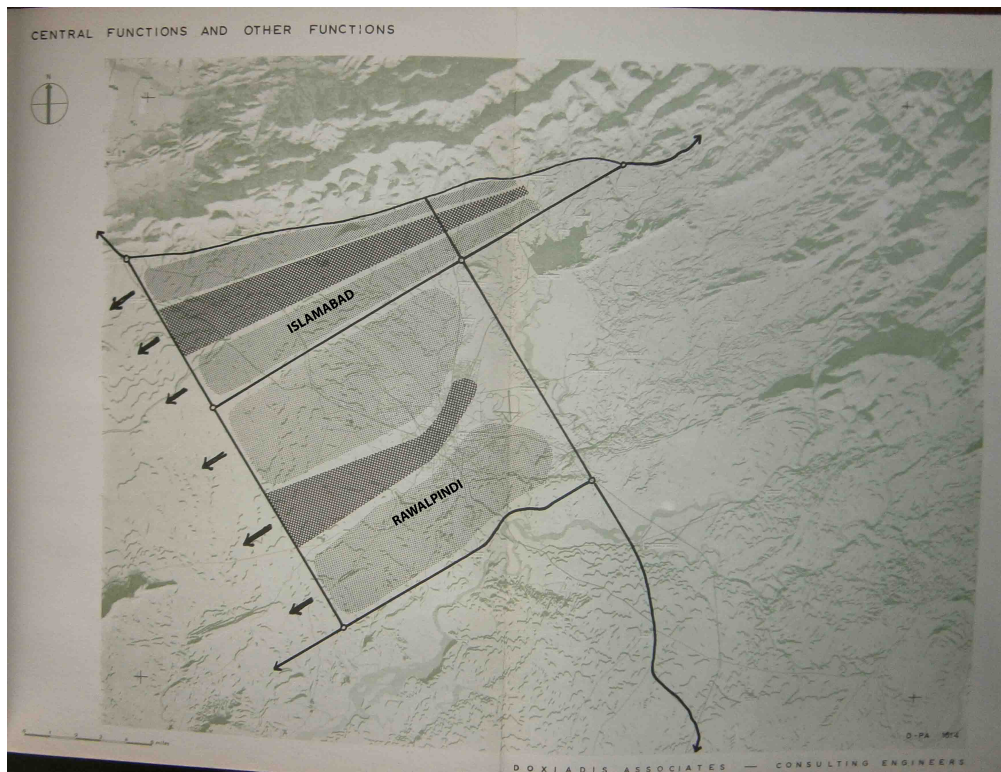


Figure 4. Dynapolis. Islamabad: Programme and Plan. Report 32. DOX-PA 88. P 383.

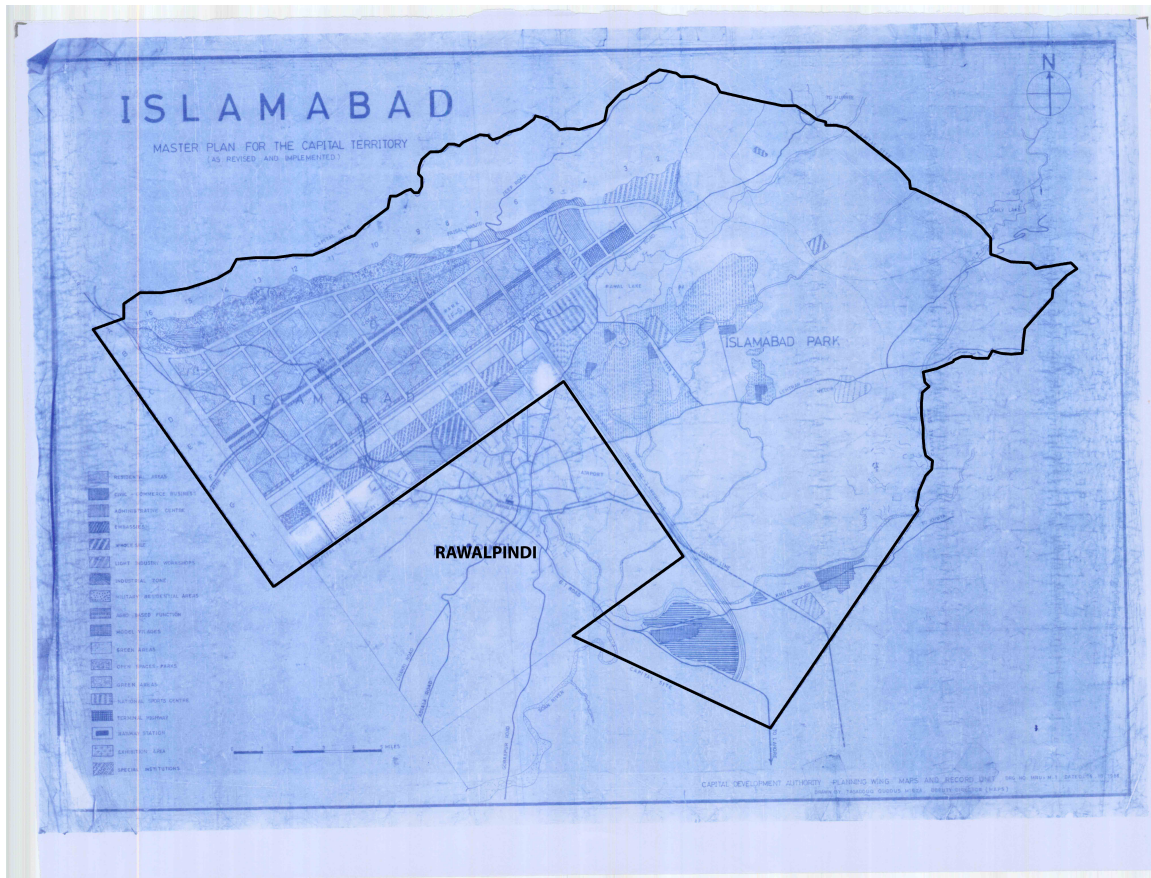


Figure 5. Master Plan of the Capital Territory, Capital Development Authority

### (i) The Sector

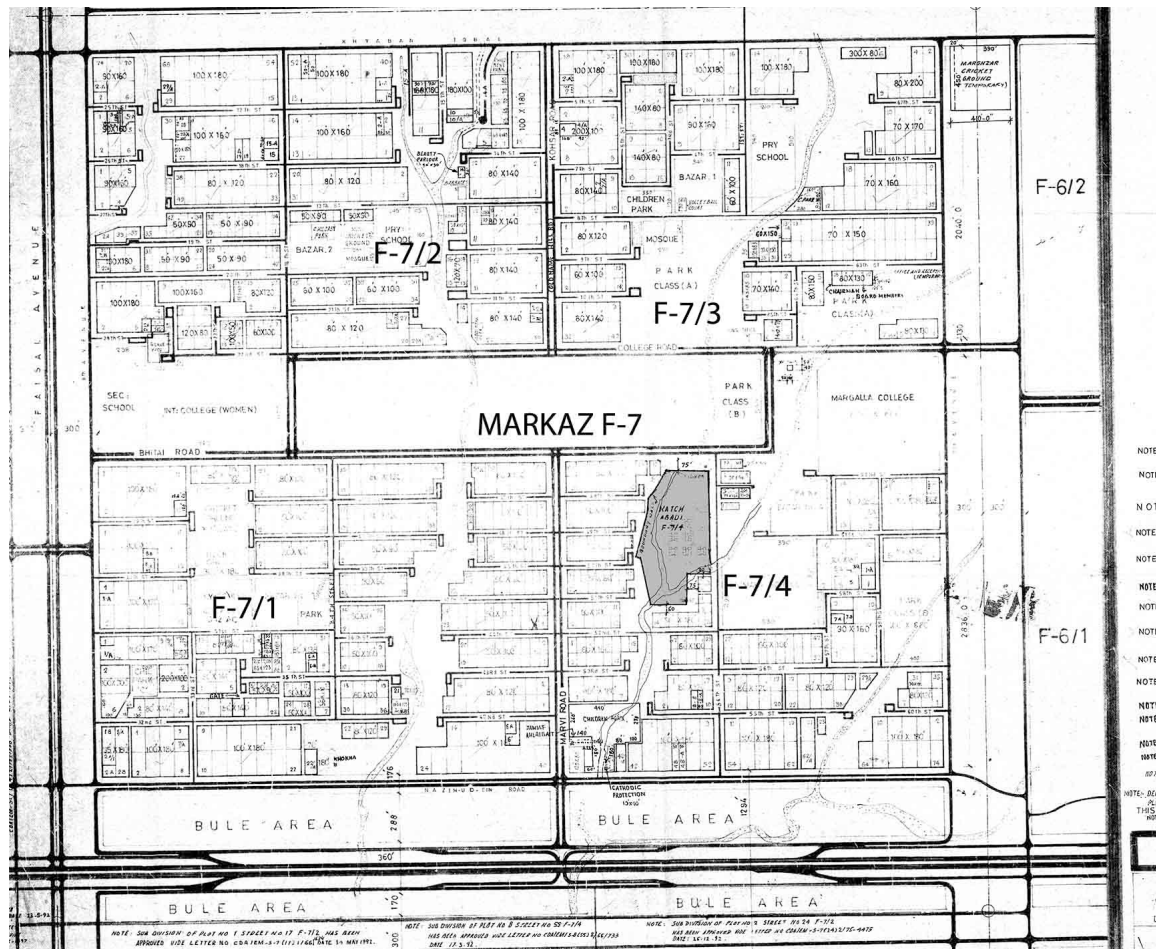
Even though Doxiadis conceived Islamabad as a dynamically growing city, its basic structural element -- the sector -- was designed as a self-contained fixed unit with little room for variation. Islamabad's sectors are 1 ¼ mile x 1 ¼ mile square, arranged in a grid generated by placing principal roads 2200 yards apart. Doxiadis designed the sector as a self-contained community where the basic needs of its resident population could be met locally (figure 6). The residential areas in sectors in Islamabad are therefore equipped with generous green areas, schools of different levels and a central civic, and commercial center called *markaz* (Urdu for center) located in the middle of each sector. The organization of the sector in Islamabad is moreover based on a hierarchy of communities of various sizes or classes. Each sector is also known as a Community Class V with a population ranging from 20,000 to 40,000 people organized according to different income groups. A sector or Community Class V is composed of about four

smaller Class IV communities (approximately 10,000 people each), which are also repeated in a square grid. Each Community Class IV comprises four Class III communities (around 2500 people each). Each Class III community is further subdivided into several Class II communities (100 or more people each). Finally, the subdivision continues down to Community Class II, which is composed of multiple Class I communities (a family or a group of two or more individuals).

Planned sectors in Islamabad are assigned an alpha-numeral designation in the master plan corresponding to their placement on the square grid. The X-axis is numbered while the Y-axis is assigned a letter (figure 7). Since each planned sector is further subdivided into 4 sub-sectors (Community Class IV), they are numbered from I through IV in a clock-wise manner starting from the bottom left corner. Subsectors of Community Class IV are similarly assigned number 1 through 4, using the same system. Thus, a sector with coordinates of letter F along Y-axis and number 6 on X-axis is named F-6. The location within sector F-6 can be further narrowed down according to where it falls within Community Class IV to F-6/1, F-6/2, F-6/3 or F-6/4 or to Community Class III to F-6/1-I, F-6/1-II, F-6/1-III or F-6/1-IV (figure 8). Streets in residential areas are similarly numbered. The only exceptions are the highways and main roads, which bear names of important places from various provinces of Pakistan.

The design and naming of sectors in Islamabad constitute an important feature of the way the city is experienced and contrasts with the existing neighborhood structure found elsewhere in Pakistan. For instance, older neighborhoods or *mohallahs* in urban areas in Pakistan have a very different organizing logic. The *mohallah* attributes much of its physical features to its piecemeal development and evolution over time and lacks the predictability and clarity offered by the sector in Islamabad. As opposed to straight streets on a geometric grid providing direct and efficient access to various parts of the sector, winding streets of varying widths leading to the deepest part of the *mohallah* often end in cul-de-sacs. Instead of being concentrated in a centre, commercial and public buildings exist at important nodes and along market (*bazaar*) streets scattered all over the *mohallah*. Moreover, since *mohallahs* are high-density neighborhoods, they rarely have vast expanses of open green spaces and parks, which are an integral feature of the neighborhood units in Islamabad.





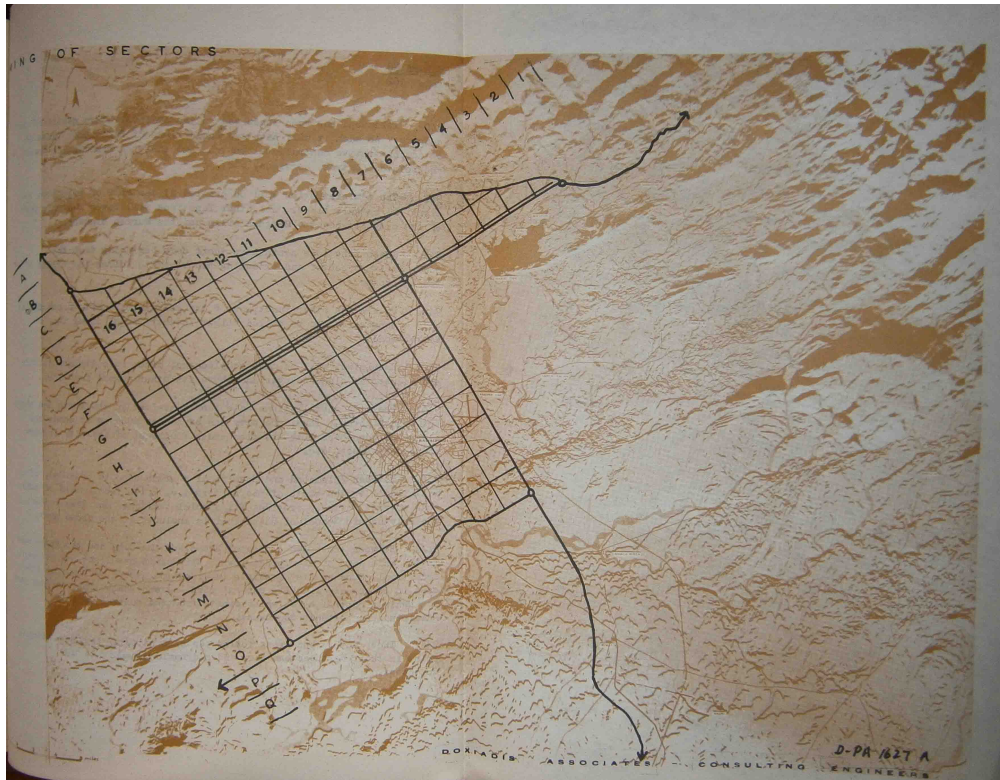


Figure 7. Naming of Sectors. Islamabad: Programme and Plan. Report 32. DOX-PA 88. P. 381.

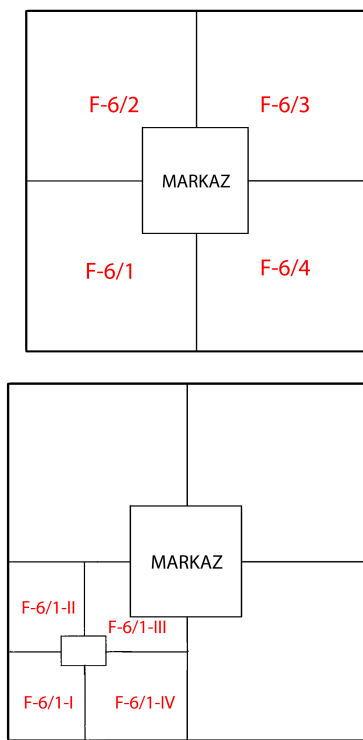


Figure 8. Naming of sector F-6 and sub-sector F-6/1 in Islamabad

Unlike the concept of *dynapolis*, the sector was not one of Doxiadis' planning innovations. Residential communities were an important site for spatial and social restructuring in post-World War II planned modernist cities. The configuration of the sector in Islamabad developed out of the "neighborhood unit" concept, a planning model popularized by the practice and writings of American planner, Clarence Perry during the early part of the twentieth century (Perry, 1929, pp. 486-498). Perry conceived the neighborhood unit "as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity in itself" (Perry, 1929, pp. 488). The neighborhood unit was designed as a self-contained community organized around a school (along with other civic buildings and parks), scaled in a way that a pedestrian could cross each neighborhood within 20 minutes. The main difference between Perry's neighborhood unit and Doxiadis' sector is the placement of institutional and commercial facilities in these self-contained communities. Doxiadis flipped Perry's placement of shops on the periphery and institutional buildings in the middle of the neighborhood. In Doxiadis' proposal, commercial facilities are concentrated in the center of each sector. Like in Doxiadis' sector, vehicular traffic in Perry's scheme was restricted inside the neighborhood with arterial roads placed around the perimeter of the community and interior roads designed to slow down traffic to ensure the safety of pedestrians moving around in the neighborhood (Ibid). All these physical features of a self-sufficient neighborhood unit were meant to create social cohesion and a sense of community among people living in modern cities.

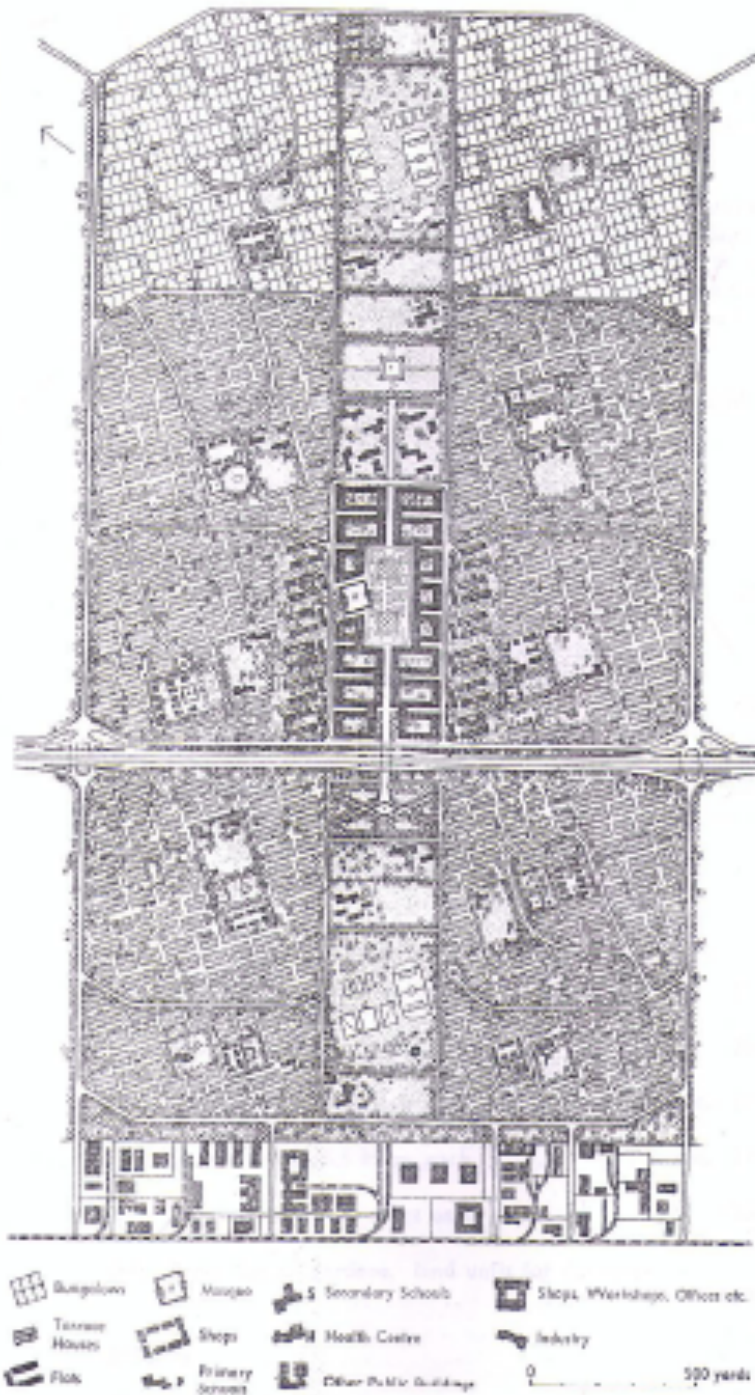
The neighborhood unit was based on the conviction that solidarity among resident communities could be forged using particular spatial organization techniques. This was considered important for the administration of communities and urban governance in both colonial and post-colonial India (Hull, 2011, pp. 757-758). Matt Hull notes a fundamental change in official attitude toward communities and their management practices before and after British colonial rule in India. Whereas the British colonial authorities preferred to deal with various existing communities (based on religion, ethnicity, caste, and so on) rather than individuals for urban administration and control, post-colonial administrators were more interested in producing new communities of citizens based on place-based solidarity deemed essential for the management of urban areas (Hull, 2011, p. 758). Local and foreign planning experts working in post-colonial

India sought this solidarity in modern planning and spatial organization practices that encouraged face-to-face human interactions. The neighborhood unit model and its local iterations, thus, emerged as popular physical planning concepts in many urban development projects designed in post-colonial Indian subcontinent.

The concept of neighborhood unit had already made an appearance in the region prior to Islamabad. Sanjeev Vidyarthi traces the introduction of the neighborhood unit concept in the Indian subcontinent to the international practice of German architect-planner, Otto Koenigsberger (Vidyarthi, 2008, pp. 52-93). Koenigsberger held various planning and architectural positions in India before and after its independence from the British colonial rule. In his designs for various industrial towns in colonial India and new towns to rehabilitate refugees migrating from Pakistan after the 1947 Independence, residential areas were planned based on the neighborhood unit. In Pakistan as well, neighborhood units of about 1 mile x 2 miles centered around public amenities and accommodating about 40,000 residents were proposed in the MRV's unimplemented plan for Karachi (figure 9) (Lindstrom, 1952, p. 51, 54).<sup>23</sup> Similar to Doxiadis communities of various classes, the MRV neighborhood unit was hierarchical. About eight to ten residential units of 2500 to 5000 inhabitants centered on a primary school constituted a Neighborhood Unit. Six to eight Neighborhood Units formed a District of 200,000 to 300,000 inhabitants, again organized around a District Center. Vehicular traffic was limited to the peripheries of the Neighborhood Unit while walkability to public amenities and places of work was an important factor in the design of these communities (Lindstrom, 1952, p. 3). A distinguishing feature of the MRV Neighborhood Unit was the possibility of locating an industrial area on one end of the community to meet the employment needs of the local community (Lindstrom, 1952, p. 49).

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<sup>23</sup> Michel Ecochard's refugee resettlement scheme in suburban Karachi planned in 1953 was similarly organized using multiple neighborhood units (Muzaffar, 2012, p. 153-162).



Layout in principle of a Neighbourhood Unit with about 40,000 inhabitants. Total area about 1 by 2 miles. It is made up of residential units with about 2,500 (1,000) inhabitants, each grouped around its local centre. The residential units are laid out along a grid, comprising the Neighbourhood Centre, secondary schools, parks, etc. The development will chiefly be in the form of terrace houses. Close to the centre and the local railway station an area with blocks of flats is shown and further out a bungalow area. The buildings should be orientated with due consideration to solar radiation and the direction of the wind (cf. Chapter XII). At the bottom of the picture the industrial area for the neighbourhood is shown.

Figure 9. Layout in principle of a Neighborhood Unit (MRV Plan). Lindstrom, S., and B. Ostnas. [1952] 1967. Report on the Greater Karachi Plan. Karachi. Merz Rendel Vatten for Government of Pakistan. Page not given.



Sectors in the new modernist city of Chandigarh (India) planned in 1952 differ only slightly from those found in Islamabad. As the eventual architect-planner for Chandigarh, Le Corbusier retained many of the characteristics of an earlier master plan devised for the city by American planners and architects, Albert Mayer and Mathew Novicki.<sup>24</sup> Foregoing his earlier fascination with soaring towers in expansive park-like open spaces as visualized in his utopian schemes for modern cities of the future, including the Contemporary City (1922), and The Radiant City (1934), Le Corbusier accepted Mayer's proposal for human-scale neighborhoods in Chandigarh comprising low-rise buildings in communities equipped with basic civic and commercial amenities and generous open green spaces (Fry, 1955; Kalia, 1999).

Like Islamabad, in Chandigarh the neighborhood unit inspired sector is equipped with schools, shops, civic and religious buildings, all within easy walking distance from the residential areas of the sector. As opposed to the civic and commercial area of the *markaz* in Islamabad, shops in each sector in Chandigarh are organized in the east-west direction along a central road, which forms a band connecting the commercial strips in adjacent sectors. Similarly, ribbons of green areas oriented in the north-south direction flow from one sector to the next. Vehicular traffic within the sectors is limited to four entry-exit points, one each at the center of the sector's four sides, while arterial roads border the periphery of the sector. The sectors in Chandigarh have a smaller area as compared to sectors in Islamabad and comprise rectangular modules of 800 meters (0.5 mile) x 1200 meters (0.75 mile). Like Islamabad, these modules are organized in a gridiron pattern to generate the overall master plan of Chandigarh.

The neighborhood unit concept was popular choice in different contexts around the world because it gave physical form to the notion of creating community cohesion through physical planning of the neighborhood – an example of how modern planning was used to condition social behavior. The neighborhood unit also made it possible for modernist planners to manipulate the city by dividing it into smaller “physical and social units” of manageable size (Evenson, 1966, p. 45). In Islamabad, the sector could be repeated along a predetermined path to create a dynamically growing city and hence,

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<sup>24</sup> Mayer-Novicki's association with the Chandigarh project was prematurely terminated after Novicki's unexpected death in a plane crash and the subsequent removal of Mayer from the city building project.

constituted an integral component of Doxiadis' *dynapolis*. The basis of Doxiadis' ingenuity hinged upon a planning concept positively in circulation and practice since the early part of the twentieth century. The difference between Islamabad and Chandigarh, which were both organized using the sector as a planning module therefore lies in their fixed and movable boundaries. In Islamabad the provision of growth was embedded in its initial master plan while in Chandigarh the limits of the city were fixed.

Doxiadis organized various income groups in different sectors in Islamabad in an attempt to create social harmony and dissipate conflict among members of different classes. People belonging to compatible income brackets were grouped together and assigned plots or apartments according to their income. However, this rational division of sectors in Islamabad according to various socio-economic statuses as conceived on paper did not result in socially harmonious spaces in the development of the city. In Islamabad, for instance, it is not uncommon to find squatter settlements right in the middle of an elite sector. This cheek-by-jowl situation of extremely high and low income housing in expensive sectors in Islamabad is investigated in this research in order to understand the exchanges that take place between disparate spaces and their inhabitants in close spatial proximity.

In addition to dedicated spaces of leisure such as parks, hiking trails and nature reserves, Islamabad is planned with generous green belts and slopes adjacent major streets and highways. Greenery and generous open spaces distinguish Islamabad from other urban areas of the country. A distinct landscape feature of the area selected for Islamabad is a series of natural ravines, which cut across the entire site of the new capital from north to south in multiple locations. Doxiadis incorporated these existing ravines as important landscape elements while designing detailed schemes for various sectors. Parks, gardens, playgrounds, schools, and pedestrian paths were planned next to these ravines in order to create green spaces of respite in each sector.<sup>25</sup>

Doxiadis called these open spaces next to natural ravines in various sectors the "lungs" of Islamabad. Using 'lungs' as a metaphor for open green spaces of relief in modern cities had been in circulation since the eighteenth century among proponents of

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<sup>25</sup> Doxiadis, C. A. Year not given. *Islamabad the Capital of Pakistan*. [http://www.doxiadis.org/Downloads/Islamabad\\_project\\_publ.pdf](http://www.doxiadis.org/Downloads/Islamabad_project_publ.pdf), p. 9.

green spaces in urban areas who considered these necessary for the mental and moral well being of people living in cities undergoing rapid urbanization.<sup>26</sup> The notion of creating large open green spaces as lungs to purify air in urban areas was popularized by the practice of celebrated American landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, who created generous urban parks accessible to all citizens. Le Corbusier similarly used the term ‘lungs’ to describe open spaces, which he declared necessary in order for the modern city to grow in density in his proposal for *A Contemporary City of Three Million People* (1922), and designed Chandigarh with bands of green spaces running through its various sectors.

The presence of vast expanses of open public areas in planned sectors of Islamabad present opportune conditions for spaces external to the official master plan of the city to thrive. For instance, most of the squatter settlements in Islamabad exist adjacent low-lying spaces next to natural ravines designated as lungs of the city. The low-lying undulating geography of these spaces with reduced visibility from their adjacent planned residential areas further makes them attractive out of sight options where informal housing can be tolerated. Generous roadside greenbelts in Islamabad similarly serve as spaces where both licensed and unlicensed commercial activities take place in non- or semi-permanent structures, as investigated in Chapter 3. Moreover, man-made public spaces, such as corridors and parking lots in commercial areas in planned markets form another site where informal commercial activities routinely take place. In order to investigate the modalities of encroachments in Islamabad, open natural spaces designated as “lungs” of the city as well as public areas within built-up commercial markets in Islamabad form important settings of inquiry in this research.

## **(ii) The National Park Area**

According to Doxiadis’ master plan, the metropolitan area of Islamabad is composed of three main subdivisions, including, the National park area, the urban areas of Islamabad, and the city of Rawalpindi (figure 3). The proposal to develop Rawalpindi

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<sup>26</sup> British Prime Minister William Pitt the Elder (1766–1768) is claimed to have used the term ‘the lungs of London’ for the first time in eighteenth century (Eisenman, 2013, p. 305 note 16; Ward, 2011, p. 189).



as part of the regional plan of Islamabad was abandoned in the eventual implementation of the master plan of the new capital region, which now consists of the region comprising the urban areas of Islamabad and the National Park area. Doxiadis designed the National park area as a large open green space accommodating low density public facilities, including a sports complex, exhibition center, botanical and zoological gardens, educational and research institutions, land and water recreational sports, agriculture and other special functions that do not generate heavy vehicular traffic (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 93, 1960b, p. 10, 14). An important feature of the National Park area is Rawal Lake, an artificial reservoir built next to Rawal Dam in early 1960s to provide water to the residents of Rawalpindi, and which now partially fulfills the water needs of Islamabad. Since Rawal Lake is an important water source, a concern for its pollution was the main reason why Doxiadis decided to place the National Park in a location surrounding the lake toward the periphery of the city, away from the main urban areas of the city (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA 20, 1962a, p. 2). Moreover, in order avoid pollution due to excessive development in the catchment area of Rawal Lake, Doxiadis proposed to limit construction in the National Park area to minor low-density buildings.

A history of development of the National Park area, as presented in Chapter 5, reveals that this area developed in a substantially different manner from the way it was conceived in the official master plan of Islamabad. The National Park area constituted a vast area of undeveloped rural land at the time of preparation of the master plan of Islamabad. Most of this area belonged to local villagers who sold it off to influential people interested in building homes there. This created a conflicting situation between new land owners in the National Park area who wanted to make their houses there and the city managers who wanted to preserve this area according to the non-residential, low-density land use specified in Doxiadis' master plan. My dissertation focuses on the National Park area as the site of investigation of some of the challenges encountered by the city's planning and development authority in the implementation process of the official master plan. As revealed in Chapter 5, these challenges are critical to our understanding of the politics of creating a planned modern space in Islamabad where residents of an elite neighborhood were not only able to directly subvert the official

master plan but also institute major structural changes in the official zoning regulations of Islamabad.

The development of Islamabad as a planned modern city in Pakistan was not only an exercise in physical planning and design but necessitated the institution of an administrative body to carry out the development and management of the new capital. In 1960, an executive order laid the basis of Islamabad's municipal corporate body, Capital Development Authority (CDA). CDA is a powerful organization with a structure that is distinct from other municipal bodies in urban Islamabad. Some of its key features are presented next.

### **2.3. The City Managers**

Islamabad is a federally administered area and as such, its administrative structure is different from most other cities in Pakistan. Pakistan has four provinces, administered by a multi-tier administrative structure. Each province is sub-divided into divisions, divisions into districts, districts into tehsils, and tehsils into union councils for better administrative control.<sup>27</sup> Until 2001, urban areas in Pakistan's provinces were governed by provincial representative bodies according to the concerned population sizes. Small towns with less than 25,000 people were managed by town committees (Hasan, 2006, p.1). Towns with population between 25,000 and 500,000 were administered by municipal committees. Cities with population falling within the range of 500,000 to 2.5M people had municipal corporations. Metropolitan areas with higher population had multiple municipal authorities, collectively overseen by a central metropolitan corporation.

In 2001, urban administrative structure in Pakistan received a major overhaul when the then military dictator of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, instituted

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<sup>27</sup> The administrative reforms of 2000 abolished divisions as an administrative unit between province and district were abolished. In the new system, provinces were subdivided into districts, districts into tehsils, and tehsils into union councils. Since 2008, divisions have been restored as an administrative tier between provinces and districts in some provinces of Pakistan.

governmental changes that came to be known as the Devolution of Local Government. The new system replaced the then existing Commissionerate system, which was based on civil bureaucracy and had been introduced in the region during British colonial rule to govern local populations. The Commissionerate system was subsequently accepted with minor modifications as a model of governance after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. In this system, municipal control was under provincial government and its appointed officials (such as, Commissioners, and Deputy Commissioners, etc) belonging to the elite cadres of civil bureaucracy from the Pakistan Administrative Service or PAS (then District Management Group or DMG) of the Central Superior Services or CSS (then Civil Service of Pakistan or CSP). The Local Bodies system was conceived as a democratic model in which municipal control was devolved from provincial to local governments or bodies headed by democratically elected officials called (*Nazim/supervisor/mayor, Naib-Nazim/ deputy Nazim*) at the district level. This new system lasted for only a decade as in 2011, the old Commissionerate system of governance (with amendments in some cases) was reinstated in most provinces of Pakistan in order to return control of local governance and funds to provincial governments.

Even though Islamabad geographically falls within Punjab province, as a federally administered area it remains independent of the provincial government, and enjoys the same powers and roles as that of a provincial government. The President of Pakistan or his/her appointed official called the Administrator (now Chief Commissioner) oversees the administration of the capital city (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007; Dar, 2010, p. 348-9). Islamabad was initially a part of the Rawalpindi District but in 1981 Islamabad District was created to give independent status to the city (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007). Islamabad District comprising the entire capital region, referred to as the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT), is further subdivided into two areas, urban and rural, each with its own governing body. Urban areas are governed by Capital Development Authority (CDA), a municipal corporate body formed in 1960 to oversee the development and administration of the new capital city. All residential, commercial, industrial and institutional areas within the urban

sectors of Islamabad are included under CDA's jurisdiction. These are the areas that were developed according to Doxiadis's master plan.

The administration of rural areas comes under a second administrative authority called Islamabad Capital Territory Administration (ICTA). ICTA administers the rural areas through various 'union councils,' comprising elected councillors and a nominated Chairman. In rural areas, a union council is the basic administrative unit, which administers a group of 5 to 23 villages (Islamabad Capital Territory Administration, 2007). ICTA is administratively subdivided into 12 union councils governing about 133 villages located in suburban Islamabad (figure 10) (Ibid). According to Doxiadis' master plan, the rural areas of Islamabad were earmarked for low-density functions. The National Park area, for instance, is mainly comprised of rural areas that come under ICTA jurisdiction.

Officials of both CDA and ICTA are government representatives either on deputation from the Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS) of the Central Superior Services (CSS) or as in the case of CDA hired directly against various positions within the organization. At the top of ICTA hierarchy is the Chief Commissioner succeeded by Deputy Commissioner, and other members belonging to the Central Superior Services of Pakistan (Ibid). The administration of CDA comes under a Board comprising a Chairman and various members appointed by the Federal Government of Pakistan (Capital Development Authority, 2007). CDA has six departments including Finance, Administration, Engineering, Planning and Design, Estate, and Environment, and a relevant Board member heads each department. Even though the Chief Commissioner as a representative of the President of Pakistan holds the highest authority in Islamabad, yet in practice, the powers of Chairman CDA as being in charge of affairs of urban areas of the capital city are significant.

The administration of urban and rural areas in Islamabad by two different government organizations provides conditions that sometimes favor the development of nonconforming spaces in the planned city. As presented in Chapter 5, the residents of an elite illegal neighborhood in Islamabad's National Park area took advantage of the fact that the jurisdiction of this area fell under ICTA and concerned union council instead of CDA. These people challenged CDA's authority in exercising control over the residential

use of this area, reserved in the official master plan as an open natural park, which administratively fell under a union council. Some illegal mobile hawkers similarly take advantage of the jurisdictional divisions of public areas in and around existing commercial markets in Islamabad. Unlicensed mobile hawkers avoid public areas in commercial markets such as, verandas and footpaths, which come under CDA's administration. Instead they operate in streets and roads adjacent commercial markets that come under the jurisdiction of Islamabad Police but are not monitored as closely.



Figure 10. Union councils in rural areas of Islamabad under ICTA jurisdiction. Urban Areas of Islamabad under CDA jurisdiction shown in yellow. Adapted from a CDA map.

## **2.4. Nonconformity in Islamabad**

Despite the compartmentalization of various activities in distinct zones, and attention to the elimination of social dissent in a newly planned modern city, both “violations” of zoning laws and extreme situations of social and spatial stratification can be found in Islamabad. While it is not possible to identify and present all those spaces where spatial exceptions to the official master plan prevail in the city, however, the above account is an attempt to introduce the context in which some of these spaces external to the official master plan of Islamabad normally exist. Islamabad is an exceptional city in Pakistan not only in terms of its physical planning but also in terms of its special administrative structure, which falls directly under the federal government of Pakistan. More than any other city in Pakistan, the “clean-slate” condition in which the city was supposedly developed places stress on the managers of the city to maintain it as closely as possible to the official master plan. Urban practices that exist outside of the official master plan in Islamabad, as a result, are more noticeable and severely criticized by the residents, and visitors of the city alike. Moreover officials at CDA also have to address the challenges faced by nearly all cities in the global South namely, limited resources, congestion, and poverty. As we will see in Chapter 3, in the case of Islamabad, bureaucratic innovation and leniencies in regulations led to the acceptance of many things, which do not strictly fit the modernist master plan and planning ideology of the city, yet are necessary features of urbanism in Pakistan.

Adherence to official rules and regulations has a very different purchase in some societies in which legal systems are jointly subjugated by upper and lower classes. This emerges as an important feature of the history of spaces external to the official master plan and planning regulations in Islamabad where both the elite and the poor engage in spatial practices often outside of official modernist planning protocols of the city. Planned modernist cities of the twentieth century in India, Pakistan, and Brazil have been conceived as a result of the political will of their leaders and the planning vision of their architects and planners, yet other actors play a pivotal role in the eventual development and everyday life of these political and symbolic places. The rest of dissertation will investigate how city managers, residents and business people of Islamabad have shaped the way in which Doxiadis’ master plan is operationalized, and the city is experienced.



### Chapter 3

#### Making Exceptions



Figure 11. Foundation Stone in France Colony

“The foundation stone of *Basti-e-Karkunan* (worker’s settlement) was laid by Chairman CDA, Brig. (r) Jan Nadir Khan, on 30 April 1985,” reads a white plaque set in a freestanding wall, which now extends awkwardly from the sidewall of a brick hut in France Colony in Islamabad (figure 11). France Colony is one of the six “squatter settlements” that emerged in the planned sectors in Islamabad around 1979 when thousands of people had to be evicted from a large labor colony in sub-sector G-8/3.<sup>28</sup> Within the yet to be developed sites for various planned sectors of Islamabad, residents of the labor colony were relocated to open spaces next to *nullahs* (ravines), which exist naturally all over Islamabad and are designated in the official master plan as “green lungs” of the city (Doxiadis Associates, DOX-PA, 1962d, p. 21). These green lungs, conceived as pedestrian spaces of respite for the residents of the city, ended up as popular sites where low-income informal settlements developed in Islamabad.

While new informal settlements in Islamabad continue to mushroom all over the city mostly in low-lying open public land near natural ravines, a history of the earliest informal settlements in Islamabad reveals important insights about the central role of the city’s municipal corporate body, Capital Development Authority (CDA), in the constitution of these nonconforming spaces. During the nascent years of Islamabad’s development as a planned modern city, neighborhoods like France Colony were established with official consent as exceptions to the official master plan. The foundation stone described above in its present state of neglect stands as proof of a forgotten promise of rehabilitation and proprietary rights that the city’s municipal and development authority, CDA, once made to the residents of this neighborhood. However, despite its apparent state of neglect, the foundation stone is neither forgotten nor faces any threat of annihilation, as residents of France Colony bring it up in conversations about the legitimacy of their neighborhood, and understand the importance of preserving this

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<sup>28</sup> While these neighborhoods are labeled as squatter settlements both in everyday and official discourses, I believe that this term does not accurately describe the nature of some of these early settlements, which were granted permission by the CDA, and hence cannot be considered strictly illegal.

The locations of the six settlements are in sub-sectors of F-6/2, F-7/4, F-9, G-7/1, G-7/2, and G-8/1. The planned communities in Islamabad called ‘sectors’ were given an alpha-numeral designation in Doxiadis’ modernist master plan corresponding to their placement on a square grid. The X-axis is numbered while the Y-axis is assigned an alphabet. Each planned sector is further subdivided into 4 sub-sectors, which are numbered from 1 through 4 in a clock-wise manner starting from the bottom left corner.

Eviction year reported in Labour Colony Demolition: CDA States its Case, 1979.



inscription, literally set in stone, in order to maintain proof of CDA's complicity in setting up this neighborhood.

Why did a highly ranked municipal official lay the foundation stone of a workers' settlement on a site designed as an important landscape feature in the official master plan of Islamabad? In this chapter, I argue, that nonconforming spatial exceptions like France Colony are not strictly illegal since they enjoy the support of government functionaries, often backed by formal provisions in official planning procedures. These nonconforming spaces are officially tolerated for long periods of time since they accommodate certain functions and necessities that cannot be otherwise fulfilled through formal planning and architectural practices. The modalities of tolerating official exceptions include informal adjustments within formal planning procedures and protocols, such as, municipal byelaws and regulations. This chapter analyzes provisions for urban informality embedded in formal planning processes in order to explain how officially sanctioned spatial exceptions like France Colony are conceptualized, and tolerated at the official level. Alongside an analysis of the modalities of officially tolerated spatial exceptions in Islamabad, this chapter also explores the tactics used by the ordinary practitioners of space to ensure the long term sustenance of spaces that do not conform to the official master plan and planning regulations of the planned city.

For this chapter, I will draw examples from informal housing and commerce in Islamabad that are not entirely illegal but enjoy some kind of legitimacy in the form of CDA-issued permissions, such as, licenses and certificates. My analysis shows that certain exceptions to official plans are allowed for long periods of time when framed in official discourse as temporary. This notion of sustained temporariness for allowing spatial exceptions in Islamabad is also represented in the tactics used by the residents and business people of the city for carrying out spatial activities that do not conform to the official master plan and planning regulations. I will conclude this chapter by investigating the proliferation of unauthorized high- and low-end commercial activities in and around planned commercial areas in Islamabad in order to better understand how residents and users of the city interpret and evade laws related to space.

### **3.1. State Making Exceptions**

#### **3.1.1. The Legal Genesis of ‘Squatting’ in Islamabad**

Even though the population of Islamabad has nearly doubled in the last fifteen years new sectors in the city offering housing and other civic amenities have not expanded proportionately.<sup>29</sup> According to the last official census conducted in 1998, there were only approximately 128,000 housing units in the Islamabad district (comprising both urban and rural areas) for a population of 800,000, and nearly 44% of these units had no piped water and/or gas for cooking (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics). The housing crisis in Islamabad has led to an increase in land prices making it nearly impossible for even middle-income families to afford housing in the planned capital. The situation is even worse for those with low-incomes who wish to live and work within the city’s limits as the only viable housing options available to them are illegal and under-serviced areas, including squatter settlements, and unauthorized subdivisions of low-income government houses. As a result, squatting is a thriving phenomenon in Islamabad and low-income settlements have occupied numerous marginal areas in both the developed and undeveloped sectors of the city. The exact number of squatters in the planned city remains undetermined due to the absence of recent and reliable census data; however, according to estimates by non-profit research and community development organizations, about 30-38% of the total population in Islamabad resides in squatter settlements (Plan Pakistan; Akhter Hameed Khan Resource Center, 2010; Jadoon, A, 2006).

In existing scholarship on other planned modernist cities of the twentieth century like Brasilia (Brazil) and Chandigarh (India), terms like ‘unplanned,’ ‘spontaneous’ or ‘paradox’ are used to explain unanticipated phenomenon like squatting (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). Informal settlements in planned modernist cities are mostly treated as a physical manifestation of the shortcomings of modern planning and architecture, and the oversight of their over zealous modern architects and planners. The designers of these cities are usually held accountable for only providing an abstract concept and not the means for the implementation of these schemes. The excluded populations in these schemes are consequently accommodated formally or informally

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<sup>29</sup> According to the 1998 census, the total population of Islamabad was about 0.8 M while in 2011, the population was estimated to be around 1.7 M (Islamabad’s Population Surges, 2011).

either within or outside the boundaries of these planned cities turning them into spatially and socially segregated places. This criticism, however, cannot be extended to the case of squatting in Islamabad for the reason that Doxiadis and his team of architects and planners were mindful of the housing needs of those populations that did not meet the government's selection criteria but were essential for the construction and maintenance of the new city. Doxiadis was aware of the problems of labor housing in newly planned capital cities like Brasilia and Chandigarh and wanted to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the case of Islamabad. A report prepared by the Islamabad office of Doxiadis associates in June, 1962, entitled "Plots and Houses for Labour Force," makes direct reference to other planned modernist cities without any housing provision to workers and their families (Doxiadis Associates, 1962c, DOX-PI 28). It states,

We should be guided by the experience gained in the recent completion of two similar projects of Chandigarh and Brazil where this problem [labor housing] was not foreseen and no provision was made for the same. In both these projects labourers built their own houses in an unauthorized and uncontrolled way (p. 3).

The report states in detail the provisions made by Islamabad's architects for incoming laborers necessary for the construction of the new city. Depending upon their short-term or long-term engagement in Islamabad, the document proposes accommodation for the labor force in the form of both temporary labor camps and permanent plots and houses. The document goes on to declare the construction workers as permanent citizens of Islamabad needed for the future development of the city. On this basis, the report presses on the need for permanent accommodation for the labor force. The report additionally underscores the disparity between the existing living conditions of the laborers in tents or temporary shacks in Islamabad and the higher standards of government houses as a potential problem in the future, and argues that this disparity may lead to create "a lot of grumbling and complaints on the part of the government servants due to sanitary and hygienic reasons" found in labor colonies, on the one hand, and "feelings of jealousy and hostility amongst the workmen, who, after all, are and will be going to build Islamabad" (p. 3).

In the "Proposals" section of the same report, Doxiadis and his team attempt to

broaden the selection criterion for the new citizens of Islamabad to include all those involved in the construction of the new city from the Chief Engineer-in-Charge to the skilled and unskilled labor, and propose suitable permanent housing or plots for this non-government population. Moreover, the architects stress the need to accommodate the labor force within Islamabad near the construction sites and not in any adjacent cities or villages to avoid long commute and insufficient housing in these other areas. The report concludes by proposing that Islamabad's development authority facilitate the private enterprisers and contractors involved in the construction of Islamabad to build cheap, if not free, houses for the labor force. Furthermore, records show that in October 1962, the architects of Islamabad also sent architectural working drawings of houses especially designed for the labor force to CDA. The house plans were designed for both single workers and workers with families on plots that varied from 20' x 45' to 20' x 50' in dimension, while proper labor colonies were planned in two sectors I-9 and I-10 of Islamabad.

Doxiadis' proposal for low-income housing for laborers and other poor citizens of Islamabad was, however, never implemented. CDA did build a few modest quarters in open spaces near existing *nullahs* (ravines) in three locations in sectors F-6 and G-7. Other low-income government workers built their own dwellings in vacant areas around these quarters to give birth to larger squatter settlements, which are now known as 100-quarters (F-6/2), 66-quarters (G-7/2), and 48-quarters (G-7/3) based on the numbers of quarters built by CDA in each location.

Investigating the attitudes and policies of government officials and architects towards the financially under-privileged population at the time of preparation of the master plan of the planned modernist city of Islamabad reveals interesting insights about the origins of the housing crisis for low income residents of Islamabad. Planning reports and official correspondence between the architects of Islamabad and the Pakistani government reveals contradictory evidence to one of the normative post-modernist narratives that holds the modernist planners and their ideologies accountable for the creation of unplanned settlements in planned modernist cities (Epstein, 1973; Sarin, 1982; Holston, 1989). The above account shows that Doxiadis Associates were not only aware of the squatting issue in other planned modernist cities but also wanted to avoid it

by providing plots and housing for the financially underprivileged population. Moreover, Doxiadis conceived the labor force as constituting the future citizens of the new capital city and not as temporary population, which would leave at the end of the initial construction phase of the city. This shows that assigning all responsibility to modernist architects and planning principles ignores the role of other important actors that might have contributed to the development and perpetuation of the exceptional urban phenomena in a planned city.

Moreover, describing squatter settlements in planned cities as anomalies or unplanned phenomena frames them only in opposition to official intentions or, at best, as the inevitable yet unwanted outcome of modernist urban planning ideology. A history of the early development of squatter settlements in Islamabad highlights the inadequacy of narratives that describe squatting as unexpected or lacking the consent of planning authorities. Close inspection reveals that informal housing in Islamabad did not develop in the same squatting patterns typically found elsewhere in Pakistan, which involves the illegal subdivision of public land by land mafia. In Islamabad many existing squatter settlements enjoy the support of CDA as they function to supplement the master plan by fulfilling the need for housing a population (mainly low-income government employees) that otherwise does not meet the minimum income criteria to afford a spot in the planned city.

The history of squatting in Islamabad can be traced to the early development of the city itself. In their initial incarnation, squatter settlements emerged as colonies housing laborers and construction workers who had migrated from other places of Pakistan to participate in this massive city building project beginning in early 1960s. While other smaller settlements existed near different construction sites, there were two large labor camps, set up next to the existing settlement of *Bari Imam* and the site reserved for sub-sector G-8/3 (Akhter Hameed Khan Resource Center, 2010). Predominantly meant to house laborers and low-income CDA staff, not all those who settled in these labor colonies were laborers, as landless farmers (primarily from rural Punjab and NWFP) also moved into these camps in search of work and residence in the new capital city.

Towards the end of 1970s when the construction of a large-scale medical complex in sub-sector G-8/3 was scheduled to start according to the master plan, CDA issued notices to residents of the labor colony to vacate the site (CDA *ney Labour Colony*, 1979, August 30). At this time some attempts were made without success to evict the residents of the labor colony, but the colony remained until 1979 when CDA launched aggressive operations that demolished the existing camp and opened up the site for the construction of a medical facility.<sup>30</sup>

The first operation to clear the site was carried out in August 1979 when talks between the residents of the G-8/3 labor colony and CDA broke down over the issue of the date of vacating the site (Resident France Colony, personal communication, December 1, 2012; August 27, 1979, *Jang*). The forced attempt to demolish huts in the labor colony ended in a physical altercation between its residents and the CDA staff resulting in casualties on both sides (1979, August 30, *Tameer*). The CDA staff returned to the labor colony a few days later, this time accompanied by a large contingent of armed police. This military-style operation was carried out in the presence of the then CDA Chairman, Syed Ali Nawaz Gardezi. CDA was successful in demolishing many of the huts there as well as getting people to agree to leave the site ‘voluntarily’ within a period of one month (1979, August 28, *The Daily Muslim*). At the time of the second operation, the chairman of CDA addressed the residents of the G-8/3 labor colony on-site and announced that CDA would devise a relocation plan for them after ascertaining the genuine “affectees” of the eviction since not everyone who lived in the labor colony belonged to the labor-community (1979, August 30, *Nawai Waqt*). He also declared that living among the genuine laborers were the speculators who had built huts in the labor colony, which were either rented out or left vacant in the hope of getting a plot of land from the government at the time of relocation (1979, August 28, *The Daily Muslim*; 1979, August 30, *Nawai Waqt*).

CDA was eventually able to clear the site for the construction of the hospital and relocate the ‘genuine’ affectees of the G-8/3 labor colony to other places in and around

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<sup>30</sup> A demolition operation was reported on October 23, 1977 in Urdu daily *Nawai-Waqt*.

Islamabad.<sup>31</sup> Those evicted comprised both Muslims and Christians. CDA negotiated separately with both religious communities, offering them different relocation options. The Christian residents were more successful in realizing their demand of staying close to the future city's central areas, as the majority of the six relocation settlements allowed by CDA within the city limits accommodated the Christian affectees. Most of the Muslim residents of the labor colony were relocated to the peripheral areas of Islamabad.

The preferential treatment given to Christian residents as compared to Muslim residents in CDA's rehabilitation program can be partially explained by the active role the Muslim residents of the labor colony played in resisting CDA's eviction process, as most police arrests made at the time of the demolition operations were of Muslim leaders (1979, January 7, *Jang*; 1979, August 23, *Nawa-i-waqt*; 1979, August 30, *The Muslim*). News reports from the late 1970s mention the name of a Muslim leader, Buland Bakht, who actively participated in the resistance against CDA's plans to demolish the labor colony. Bakht is both hailed as the President of Labor Colony Union, and criticized as a ringleader in various news reports. The more significant reason why CDA favored a religious minority group in the relocation and rehabilitation process was that Christians were overwhelmingly employed as sanitation staff with CDA. The decision to house Christian sanitation workers within Islamabad was prompted by the need for their services in the daily maintenance of the city. Conversely, most of the displaced Muslims were daily wage laborers whose labor would be less in demand after the completion of the city building project. Because of their employment in CDA, Christian workers were well represented by the CDA Union, which negotiated aggressively with higher officials to get their demands of staying within Islamabad met.

This approach of rehabilitation of the labor colony affectees based on their usefulness to the city is also reflected in CDA's policy developed in late 1980s of favoring those evicted squatter settlement dwellers who fulfilled "any function of development, civic or municipal maintenance" (Capital Development Authority, 1988,

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<sup>31</sup> I have found out in my interviews of old residents of France Colony that not all who were allowed to settle here were laborers or the low-income CDA employees but were engaged in employment elsewhere.

p.3).<sup>32</sup> According to this early CDA settlement policy regarding squatter settlements in Islamabad, resettlement priority was to be given to those who fell under the category of a “follower” (a term for sweepers borrowed from military lingo) defined as “an adult (male or female) citizen of Pakistan, holding national identity card engaged in the occupation of sanitary worker, *khakrobe* (sweeper) or a profession related to civic or municipal functions, permanently residing and essentially required in Islamabad” (Ibid). According to this policy, “unskilled labour and all other encroachers” were to be “removed permanently in an organized and planned manner” (Ibid, p. 7). These early low-income settlements in Islamabad thus present a rare example of preferential treatment given to a Christian community given the long history of violence and marginalization against religious minorities in Pakistan. The labor of these residents rather than their religion thus became an important determinant in defining their place in the newly planned capital city.

The six relocation sites for the labor colony evictees within the city eventually developed into expensive and popular sectors in Islamabad. An important feature of this relocation process was the formal permission granted to the ex-labor colony residents by CDA in the form of relocation certificates. These certificates were issued by the Director of Enforcement (Directorate), which is a CDA department in charge of taking actions against encroachments in Islamabad. The certificate carried the following text in Urdu,

“Mr. X sweeper s/o [son of] Y presently resident of labor camp G-8/3, Islamabad, you are given a land on temporary basis by CDA in Sector G-8/1 (at Qadir Colony). You are requested to shift from labor camp to allocated location while doing arrangements for your residence by your own.”<sup>33</sup>

Each male head of the family deemed eligible for relocation from the labor colony was issued a certificate ‘requesting’ relocation to an alternate place in the city. Even

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<sup>32</sup> While this policy was compiled after the decision to resettle the affectees of the labor colony eviction was made, however, it is helpful to understand the official attitude towards allowing different types of low-income populations into the new capital city.

<sup>33</sup> This translation of the original relocation certificate is published in a report by Akhter Hameed Khan Resource Center in Islamabad, entitled, *Housing for the poor*, p. 12. While many older residents of France Colony have confirmed the possession of relocation certificates, I have not been able to see these documents. Whenever the subject of relocation certificates came up in my interviews of France Colony residents, I would get the same response every time; I was always told that they would have to look for it, as they didn’t remember where they had kept the certificate given to them such a long time ago. I suspect that their reluctance has something to do with CDA’s desire to keep these documents concealed from public knowledge.



though the language in the document does not suggest this, all the certificate holders with whom I spoke believe that the document promised that they would be allowed to live in their current location without any threat of eviction until CDA prepared a relocation plan that was acceptable to them. This unwritten understanding could be explained by the verbal promises made by the CDA officials at the time in order to appease the labor colony evictees.

The inclusion of the word ‘temporary’ in the certificate underscores the transitory nature of the relocation in official discourse even if these settlements now have a history of more than thirty years. Despite the formal allocation of functions in designated spaces in the official master plan, CDA was complicit in the early development of squatter settlements by allowing them to exist in certain spaces, albeit on a “temporary” basis. In my analysis of such official strategies used to accommodate activities external to the master plan of Islamabad, I propose the term “long-term temporariness” to explain how certain extraordinary spatial practices are allowed to exist on a ‘temporary’ basis for long periods of time. Temporariness is a condition of provisional existence. An apparent oxymoron, long-term temporariness refers to special allowances made to enable certain activities at odds with the official master plan and planning regulations to legally exist for long periods of time as long as they are categorized as provisional. This means that something undesirable may be allowed to continue if it’s tagged temporary. It alludes to a state prior to permanence attained via conformity to the official master plan. Labeling something temporary creates the effect of tolerance, of allowing certain concessions for activities or phenomenon that otherwise cannot be allowed on a permanent basis. Exceptions are thus sanctioned allowances that are tolerated over a long term if framed within the realm of the temporary.

Rather than being marginal dysfunctional phenomena, nonconforming spaces like France Colony function as supplements to the official master plan of Islamabad by providing a material, legal, and political space for those activities that otherwise cannot be subsumed by the modernist plan. In the case of France Colony, housing for low-income sanitation workers could not be accommodated within the city’s formal housing framework due to the ineffectiveness and incompatibility of government policies and

master planning program to meet the shelter needs of those with minimum incomes. Marking places like France Colony provisional to allow low-income housing at odds with the master plan over long periods of time is a creative bureaucratic strategy employed by CDA to justify spatial exceptions as temporary arrangements. This strategy is based on the assumption that temporary provisions allowing urban phenomena incompatible with the overall master plan will be permanently resolved at a later stage. For instance, the relocation of ex- labor colony dwellers to *nullah* sites in Islamabad was meant to be a temporary arrangement until a permanent housing solution for these people could be found in a location, which met their demands of being close to their source of income while being affordable. The rationale of long-term temporariness is also apparent in other extraordinary official allowances that allow certain activities and functions to continue outside of the official planning framework of Islamabad. An analysis of small-scale commercial enterprises operating from open public spaces in Islamabad reveals similar rationale employed by CDA to justify spaces outside of the official master plan and planning ideology of the city. This discussion also reveals a rift between the master plan and municipal codes of the new capital city.

### **3.1.2. ‘Licensed Encroachments:’ Conflict between Plans and Codes**

Like squatting, hawking is a form of informal spatial practice, which includes various forms of mobile or stationary trading carried out largely in public spaces such as parks, streets, green belts, foot paths, corridors and passages in existing planned commercial markets. The history of hawking in Islamabad goes back to the 1960s when there were no markets in the city, and the only places to shop were in the existing villages of *Bari Imam*, and *Saidpur* (General Secretary - Khokha Association, personal communication, February 1, 2013). At the time, CDA encouraged people to set up food facilities to meet the needs of laborers and other workers involved in the construction of the new capital. While CDA was more than welcoming to those people who were willing to set up food and refreshments kiosks, doing business in Islamabad during the early years of its development was not an easy proposition.

The early *khokha* (kiosk) owners recall great difficulties of doing business in the yet to be developed city as they had to carry goods from the neighboring city of Rawalpindi on their heads, and bring drinking water from natural springs from far-flung places so that the *baniyan-i-Islamabad* (founders of Islamabad, reference to construction laborers), could purchase their everyday basic necessities with relative ease.<sup>34</sup> Meant as temporary provisions for temporary needs, these small-scale shops continued to do business beyond the initial construction years of Islamabad as newly constructed commercial areas were coming up. Over the last few years, small-scale commercial enterprises, including *dhabas* (cafés), *khokhas* (kiosks), and *rehris* (pushcarts) have flourished, and now proliferate in public spaces in planned sectors of Islamabad despite the provision of dedicated spaces in the master plan for commercial activities.

In Islamabad, Doxiadis planned dedicated spaces for commercial activities in the *markaz* (center) and Blue Area markets. It may be recalled from Chapter 2 that Doxiadis organized the city in a grid of identical sectors with each sector designed to have a commercial center called *markaz* (center). As the primary unit of organization in Doxiadis' scheme for Islamabad, neighborhood 'sectors' were conceived as self-contained communities with their own civic, commercial, institutional and residential areas, all within easy access to each other. A *markaz* (center) lays at the geographical center of each sector and comprises a dedicated commercial and civic space for the neighborhood, accommodating various amenities such as a post office, police station, mosque, bookshops, restaurants, grocery and clothing stores. In addition to planning a commercial *markaz* in every sector, Doxiadis also designed Islamabad's Blue Area as the business and commercial hub for the entire city. The Blue Area is planned in the form of a longitudinal band of buildings on both sides of an expansive and important boulevard called Jinnah Avenue, which culminates on its eastern end in Constitution Avenue, which is where the city's most important administration buildings are sited (figure 12).

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<sup>34</sup> Pamphlet published by the Khokha Association.